



















JOHN LUTHERMAN & CO.



THE  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM  
THE REVOLUTION

TO THE  
DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

DESIGNED AS  
A CONTINUATION OF MR. HUME'S HISTORY.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.



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WITH THE AUTHOR'S LAST CORRECTIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS.



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# THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

## CHAPTER I.

### WILLIAM AND MARY.

STATE OF THE NATION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE REVOLUTION.—ACCOUNT OF THE NEW MINISTRY.—THE CONVENTION CONVERTED INTO A PARLIAMENT.—MUTINY IN THE ARMY.—THE COBONATION, AND ABOLITION OF HEARTH-MONEY.—THE COMMONS VOTE A SUM OF MONEY TO INDEMNIFY THE DUTCH.—WILLIAM'S EFFORTS IN FAVOUR OF THE DISSENTERS.—ACT FOR A TOLERATION.—VIOLENT DISPUTES ABOUT THE BILL FOR A COMPREHENSION.—THE COMMONS ADDRESS THE KING TO SUMMON A CONVOCATION OF THE CLERGY.—SETTLEMENT OF THE REVENUE.—THE KING TAKES UMBRAGE AT THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE WHIG-PARTY.—HEATS AND ANIMOSITIES ABOUT THE BILL OF INDEMNITY RECOMMENDED BY THE KING.—BIRTH OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—AFFAIRS OF THE CONTINENT.—WAR DECLARED AGAINST FRANCE.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONVENTION OF SCOTLAND, OF WHICH THE DUKE OF HAMILTON IS CHOSEN PRESIDENT.—LETTERS TO THE CONVENTION FROM KING WILLIAM AND KING JAMES.—THEY RECOGNIZE THE AUTHORITY OF KING WILLIAM.—THEY VOTE THE CROWN VACANT, AND PASS AN ACT OF SETTLEMENT IN FAVOUR OF WILLIAM AND MARY.—THEY APPOINT COMMISSIONERS TO MAKE A TENDEN OF THE CROWN TO WILLIAM, WHO RECEIVES IT ON THE CONDITIONS THEY PROPOSE.—ENUMERATION OF THEIR GRIEVANCES.—THE CONVENTION IS DECLARED A PARLIAMENT, AND THE DUKE OF HAMILTON KING'S COMMISSIONER.—PRELACY ABOLISHED IN THAT KINGDOM.—THE SCOTS DISSATISFIED WITH THE KING'S CONDUCT.—VIOLENT DISPUTES IN THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT—WHICH IS ADJOURNED.—A REMONSTRANCE PRESENTED TO THE KING.—THE CASTLE OF EDINBURGH BESIEGED AND TAKEN.—THE TROOPS OF KING WILLIAM DEFEATED AT KILLYCRANKIE.—KING JAMES CORDIALLY RECEIVED BY THE FRENCH KING.—TYNCONNEL TEMPORIZES WITH KING WILLIAM.—JAMES ARRIVES IN IRELAND.—ISSUES FIVE PROCLAMATIONS AT DUBLIN.—SIEGE OF LONDONDEERRY.—THE INHABITANTS DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH SURPRISING COURAGE AND PERSEVERANCE.—CRUELTY OF ROSENE, THE FRENCH GENERAL.—THE PLACE IS RELIEVED BY KIRKE.—THE INNISKILLINEES DEFEAT AND TAKE GENERAL MACARTY.—MEETING OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.—THEY REPEAL THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT.—PASS AN ACT OF ATTAINDER AGAINST ABSENTIES.—JAMES COINS BASE MONEY.—THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND CRUELLY OPPRESSED.—THEIR CHURCHES ARE SEIZED BY THE CATHOLICS, AND THEY ARE FORCED TO ASSEMBLE ON PAIN OF DEATH.—ADMIRAL HERBERT WORSTED BY THE FRENCH FLEET, IN AN ENGAGEMENT NEAR BANTRY-BAY.—DIVERS SENTENCES AND ATTAINDERS REVERSED IN PARLIAMENT.—INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSE OF MISCARRIAGES IN IRELAND.—BILLS PASSED IN THIS SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

THE constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right was at length renounced by a free Parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other

fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the zeal of the Parliament towards their deliverer seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at least they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over Parliaments in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of resistance, on which the Revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though he was created *jure humano*: and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The Prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger: but this tie was no sooner broken than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism were insensibly warmed into partizans; and King William soon found

himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other Protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman Catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king; and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, that, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour: that his army contained a number of foreign Papists, almost equal to that of the English Roman Catholics whom James had employed: that the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the Prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enslaving England, and the murder of the Earl of Essex, reports countenanced by the Prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: that the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: that the prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: that the two Houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late sovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence: and, that the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment.

William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all Protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: then he chose the members of his council, who were generally stanch to his interest, except the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Nottingham,\* and these were ad-

Account of  
the new  
ministry.  
Somers's  
Collection.  
Beresby.  
Burnet.

\* The council consisted of the Prince of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquises of Halifax and Winchester, the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonshire, Dorset, Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Fauconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the Lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

mitted in complaisance to the church-party, which it was not thought advisable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state : the privy seal was bestowed upon the Marquis of Halifax : the Earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the king's confidence, and Nottingham was considerable, as head of the church-party : but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuytlestein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance : the treasury, admiralty, and chancery were put in commission ; twelve able judges were chosen ;<sup>b</sup> and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of Dr. Ward, the king, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous stickler for his interest ; and, in a particular manner, instrumental in effecting the revolution. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to consecrate this ecclesiastic, though the reasons of his refusal are not specified ; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a præmunire, he granted a commission to the Bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry ; moderate in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In consequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late king, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the Prince of Orange, who consulted him about the affairs of England. He assisted in drawing up the prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his design. He was demanded of the States, by the English ambassador, as a British fugitive, outlawed by King James, and excepted in the act of indemnity : nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain ; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry have been characterized in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Halifax ; the plausibility, the enterprising genius, the

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the Common Pleas ; the Earl of Devonshire was made lord steward of the household, and the Earl of Dorset lord chamberlain.—Ralph.

obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and ostentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treasury, was modest, silent, sagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created Earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the sequel to the rank of Earl of Warrington, was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his master, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the king raised to the dignity of Earl of Portland. The English favourite, Sidney, was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created Earl of Romney; a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a Parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; therefore, the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a Parliament, by going to the House of Peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised.\* He assured them he should never take

The convention converted into a Parliament.

\* This expedient was attended with an unsurmountable absurdity. If the majority of the convention could not grant a legal sanction to the establishment they had made, they could never invest the Prince of Orange with a just right to ascend the throne; for they could not give what they had no right to bestow; and if he ascended the throne without a just title, he could have no right to sanctify that assembly to which he owed his elevation. When the people are obliged, by tyranny or other accidents, to have recourse to the first principles of society, namely, their own preservation, in electing a new sovereign, it will deserve consideration, whether that choice is to be effected by the majority of a Parliament which has been dissolved, indeed by any Parliament whatsoever, or by the body of the nation, assembled in communities, corporations, by tribes, or centuries, to signify their assent or dissent with respect to the person proposed as their sovereign. This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but these cannot possibly be avoided when the constitution is dissolved by setting aside the lineal succession to the throne. The constitution of England is founded on a Parliament consisting of King, Lords, and Commons: but when there is no longer a king, the Parliament is defective, and the constitution impaired; the members of the Lower House are the

any step that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance; that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration; that a good settlement was necessary, not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the Protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations; he, therefore, begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensably necessary for the welfare of the nation. The Commons returning to their House, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the House, so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These, therefore, brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present

representatives of the people, expressly chosen to maintain the constitution in church and state, and sworn to support the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the nation; but though they are elected to maintain, they have no power to alter the constitution. When the king forfeits the allegiance of his subjects, and it becomes necessary to dethrone him, the power of so doing cannot possibly reside in the representatives who are chosen, under certain limitations, for the purposes of a legislature which no longer exists; their power is of course at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals that constitute the community. The right of altering the constitution, therefore, or of deviating from the established practice of inheritance in regard to the succession of the crown, is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his share in the general determination, whether his opinion be signified *ried* voce, or by a representative whom he appoints and instructs for the purpose. It may be suggested, that the Prince of Orange was raised to the throne without any convulsion, or any such difficulties and inconveniences as we have assumed to be the necessary consequences of a measure of that nature. To this remark we answer, that since the Revolution, these kingdoms have been divided and harassed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly seek the destruction of each other: that they have been exposed to plots, conspiracies, insurrections, civil wars, and successive rebellions, which have not been defeated and quelled without vast effusion of blood, infinite mischief, calamity, and expense to the nation; that they are still subjected to all those alarms and dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne, and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interests sacrificed to foreign connexions, from which they can never be disengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interposition of the Prince of Orange. King James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid under such restrictions that it would not have been in his power to tyrannize over his subjects either in spirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been vested in the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of the church and state, and superintend the economy of the administration, in the application of the public money: a law might have been passed for annual Parliaments, and the king might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. Had these measures been taken, the king must have been absolutely disabled from employing either force or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people must have been fairly represented in a rotation of Parliaments, whose power and influence would have been but of one year's duration.



Parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden, in the Lower House, put the question, Whether a king elected by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, assembled at Westminster, coming to and consulting with the said Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a Parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal Parliament, and, as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The whigs replied, That the essence of a Parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the King, Lords, and Commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: they proved this assertion by examples deduced from the history of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expense, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove fatal to the Protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the Lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the Commons sent it back to the Upper House, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act, the Lords and Commons, assembled at Westminster, were declared the two Houses of Parliament to all intents and purposes: it likewise ordained, That the present act, and all other acts to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: that the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should take the new oath incorporated in this act under the ancient penalty; and, that the present Parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the House of Commons about the revenue, which the courtiers alleged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the opposition affirmed, that these grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the king and queen; and the House

resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his majesty, importing that the late king had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assessments; and both Houses waited on the king to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place, till several lords spiritual as well as temporal had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from Parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, Bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Lloyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath were the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the Lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the House at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the Earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the House for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power, and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king, having received some intimation of their designs from intercepted letters, ordered the Earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two Houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The Lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace: but the Commons empowered him by a bill to

Mutiny in  
the army.

dispense with the *habeas-corpus* act till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king resolved to detain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room such regiments as were most tinctured with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by Mareschal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for King James, and with four pieces of cannon began their march for Scotland. William, being informed of this revolt, ordered General Ginckel to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they seized this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both Houses, and received the royal assent.

The coronation oath<sup>4</sup> being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the Bishop of London officiating at the king's desire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malecontent; and next day the Commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the

The coronation, and abolition of hearth-money.

<sup>4</sup> The new form of the coronation oath consisted in the following questions and answers: "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?"

"I solemnly promise so to do."

"Will you to the utmost of your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?" "I will."—"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion as by law established? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as, by law, do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the Gospels, shall say, "The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God."

affection of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, signified, in a solemn message to the House of Commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation or total suppression of the hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition on his subjects; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

He had, in his answer to their former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation: he had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch; expatiated upon the zeal of that republic for the interest of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the Protestant religion; and expressed his hope that the English Parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition, but likewise further support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the States-general in William's expedition amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the Commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raising and maintaining an army of two-and-twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet: but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the king considered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment: but he was not at all pleased with their precaution.

William was naturally biassed to Calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he had entertained for the church

The Commons vote a sum of money to indemnify the Dutch.

of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops, who had thwarted his measures. By absenting themselves from Parliament, and refusing the oath, they had plainly disowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to nonconformity, that all Protestant dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the *habeas-corpus* act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his Protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service; he said, such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the House of Lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the House. These fruitless efforts, in favour of dissenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against King William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test: but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the House of Lords moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender them; and, in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehensions of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the Commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their

William's  
efforts in  
favour of  
the dis-  
senter.

instruction. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained was a clause, empowering the king to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity, and the coronation oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months, and of entire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity.

The king, though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the Earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of an act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II., provided that they should hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut: that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties: that, in case of being chosen into the office of constable, churchwarden, overseer, &c., and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: that the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting Protestants, who should take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against nonconformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish offices: yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to ana-

Act for a  
toleration.

baptists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen, and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the Papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposal of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the Papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new Catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel: besides, he could not pretend to screen the Protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the Catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

We have observed, that, in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from Parliament, a bill was brought into the House of Lords for uniting their majesties' Protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favour of the dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of laity in the commission to be given by the king to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution." A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hopes of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing, in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit with a promise of conformity.

Violent disputes about the bill for a comprehension.

The bill was with difficulty passed in the House of Lords : but the Commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of malecontent members, who had retired from Parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the king, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would maintain the church of England as by law established ; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters, according to the ancient usage of Parliaments ; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration proper methods for giving ease to Protestant dissenters. Though the king was displeased at this address, in which the Lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer by the mouth of the Earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care, recommending the dissenters to their protection, and promising to summon a convocation as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it had no other view than that of displaying their moderation ; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the church ; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which diminished their strength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being, therefore, violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. The king, however, was so bent upon the execution of his design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the Parliament was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public ; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and

The Commons address the king to summon a convocation of the clergy.

Settlement of the revenue.



misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of Parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the Commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both Houses at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years; that the king might find himself dependent upon the Parliament, and merit the renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the Prince and Princess of Denmark, the judges, and Mareschal Schomberg, to whom the Parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The Commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done the nation. The tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the whigs in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords-lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, the bill was suffered to lie neglected on the table: but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The tories had, by the channel of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty: but complained at the same time,

The king takes umbrage at the proceedings of the whig party.

that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a persecution from their implacable enemies.

These remonstrances made such impression on the king, Heats and animosities about the bill of indemnity. that he sent a message to the House by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by the backwardness of the whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and in the mean time restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate that the king's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that he for this purpose pressed an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party: on the other hand, the Earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends: both sides succeeded in kindling an animosity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicions that mutually prevailed.

It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the Lower House, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the throne: to this the Lords added, "Or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The Bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, proposed that the Princess Sophia, Duchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the

act of succession, as the next Protestant heirs, failing issue of the king, and Anne, Princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the Lower House, where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late king and the lineal succession, but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to see monarchy altogether extinguished in England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of succession. The Lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two Houses. At length the bill was dropped for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the Princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucester.

Birth of the  
Duke of  
Gloucester.

In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France began at this period to take effect. The princes of the empire, assembled in the diet, solemnly exhorted the emperor to declare war against the French king, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Osnabruck, Nimeguen, and the truce; invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They therefore besought his imperial majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis; in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The states-general published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had raised against the Protestants; with having cajoled and insulted them with deceitful promises and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and, finally, with having declared war against the states, without any plausible reason assigned. The

Affairs of  
the con-  
tinent.

Elector of Brandenburg denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The Marquis de Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter declaration to that of Louis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French king of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive with the states-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever: that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabruck, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should have been vindicated: that in case of a negotiation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated *bonâ fide*: and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a separate article, the contracting powers agreed, that, in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the states-general should assist the emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy: that they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors, their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of King of the Romans; and employ their utmost force against France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation.

William, who was the soul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France and foreign alliances; and the Commons unanimously resolved, that, in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his

War declared  
against  
France.

present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and those that might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom, nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England; in the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his Parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the House of Commons. This was a welcome address to King William. He assured them, that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French monarch. On this occasion, Louis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guarantee of the English crown; with having encroached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New-York and Hudson's-bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations, and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. Proceedings in the convention of Scotland. The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The Duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The Duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master: but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partisans of James were headed by the Earl of Balcarras, and Graham Viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the Duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner

as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the Lords and Commons assembled at Edinburgh, the Bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of King James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late king set up the Marquis of Athol in opposition to the Duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The Earls of Lothian and Tweeddale were sent as deputies, to require the Duke of Gordon, in the name of the estates, to quit the castle in four-and-twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the Protestant officer next in command. The duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proving ineffectual, the states ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason; and he, refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up with the troops of the city.

Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from King William to the estates; and, at the same time, another from James was presented by one Crane, an English domestic of the abdicated queen. William observed, that he had called a meeting of their estates at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, a debate ensued about the letter from the late King James. This they resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act,

Letters to  
the conven-  
tion from  
King Wil-  
liam and  
King James.

declaring, that notwithstanding anything that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states; and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the Protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of the late sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to assert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to pass unpunished. He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

This address produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly outnumbered in this assembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James, foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorized the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the Marquis of Athol and the Earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late king: and they hoped a secession of their friends would embarrass the convention, so as to retard the settlement of King William. Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol deserted their cause; and Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat. The rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the Duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the Viscount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognised, by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had entreated the King of England to take upon him the administration. They

The convention recognise the authority of King William.



acknowledged their obligation to the Prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution; they besought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the Earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the Earl of Mar governor of Stirling-castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they despatched Lord Ross, with an answer to King William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, and congratulating him upon his success. They thanked him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates. They declared they would take effectual and speedy measures for securing the Protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They assured him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desired the continuance of his majesty's care and protection.

Crown  
voted va-  
cant, and  
an act of  
settlement  
passed.

After the departure of Lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgesses, to prepare the plan of a new settlement: but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the Archbishop of Glasgow; all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deserted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote:—  
“The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That King James VII., being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited mon-



archy to an arbitrary, despotic power, and had governed the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forefaulted the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the Bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously against it, as containing a charge of which the king was innocent; and he proposed that his majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were defeated or overruled, and the house confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord president declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might be filled with William and Mary, King and Queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the instrument, were reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord president, assisted by the lord provost and magistracy of the city, the Duke of Queensberry, the Marquises of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the late King James; or, by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of King William and Queen Mary; or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation oath, they granted a commission to the Earl of Argyle for the lords, to Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and to Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners, being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a pre-

Crown tendered to and accepted by William.

paratory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an address, desiring his majesty to convert the convention into a Parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation oath was tendered to their majesties by the Earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the king declared that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replying that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

In the mean time, Lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the convention, but refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the presbyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government: and for this reason the states resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature, until he should receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clans of his party, King William appointed the Duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon Lord Melville, a weak and servile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns: but the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple Lord Stair, president of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Though these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, ad-

mitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the council board ; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles ; Convention state their grievances. the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II., by which the king's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure ; and the superiority of any office in the church above that of presbyters. The king, in his instructions to the lord commissioner, consented to the regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated ; he was contented that the act relating to the king's supremacy should be rescinded, and that the church government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.

On the seventeenth day of June, Duke Hamilton opened the Scottish Parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his majesty's direction ; but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the lords of the articles, which they considered as their chief grievance.\* The king permitted that the estates should choose the lords by their own suffrages ; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit : but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act abolishing prelacy. Prelacy abolished in Scotland. Dissatisfaction of the Scots. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration, namely, that of the king's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust, place, or employment,

\* The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The king empowered the commissioner to choose eight bishops, whom he authorized to nominate eight noblemen ; these together chose eight barons and eight burgesses ; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, safety, and benefit of the subjects. *Proceedings of the Scots Parliament vindicated.*

under their majesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the house, but proved ineffectual, for want of the royal assent.

Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his prerogative. The malecontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the restoration; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it; providing, that if in time to come, any such total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the king or queen, or regent, for the time being, and the Parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office, should be ratified and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges, whom the king had appointed, to open their commissions, or hold a session until his majesty's further pleasure should be known; on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy-council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

The lord commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the House till the eighth day of October; a step which, added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed the opposition to a violent degree. They drew up a remonstrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled; recapitulating the several instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his majesty; explaining their

Violent disputes in the Scottish Parliament.

The Scottish Parliament adjourned. A remonstrance presented to the king.

reasons for dissenting from the ministry in some articles ; beseeching him to consider what they had represented, to give his royal assent to the acts of Parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This address was presented to the king at Hampton Court. William was so touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner ; and by these it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the Parliament had granted the revenue for life ; and raised money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expense of the government for some months ; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish Parliament, their church was left without any settled form of government ; for, though the hierarchy was abolished, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of supremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed.

The session was no sooner adjourned than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh-castle into a regular siege, which was prosecuted with such vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The Duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and despairing of relief from the adherents of his master, desired to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison : but he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from King James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular ; he, therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentrated in the Viscount Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had

The castle of Edinburgh besieged and taken.

received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert their officer, and join him in the action. Maekay, having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsey's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry : then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochabar. Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athol, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency ; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependants, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse, rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water : instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits ; but the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it without repining : and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by General Maekay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pass of Killyerankie, and he resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them, and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders, having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation : Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment ; the Earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himself master of the artillery : twelve hundred of Maekay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained ; yet it was dearly pur-

The troops  
of King  
William  
defeated at  
Killyerankie.

chased with the death of their beloved chieftain the Viscount Dundee, who fell by a random shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in his army as prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused, and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by Colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which King William offered to those who should submit within the time specified in his proclamation.

After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate prince and his queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seems to have been emasculated by religion: he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the Jesuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis was mingled with contempt. The pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades: "There is a pious man (said the Archbishop of Rheims, ironically) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." In a word, he subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

All the hope of re-ascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to

King James  
cordially  
received  
by the  
French  
king.

Tyrconnel  
temporises  
with King  
William.

the Prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and temporised with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the Protestants of Ireland, and amuse King William with hope of his submission, he persuaded the Lord Mountjoy, in whom the Protestants chiefly confided, and Baron Rice, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnel had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the Protestant interest. Although Louis was sincerely disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council; but Seignelai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the king and Madame de Maintenon, the favourite concubine. To this nobleman, as secretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service to Lausun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Louis had promised toward his restoration.

Yet notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of February. The French king is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects<sup>†</sup> and a good number of

James arrives in Ireland.

<sup>†</sup> James in this expedition was attended by the Duke of Berwick and by his brother Mr. Fitzjames, grand prior; the Duke of Powis; the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the Lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the Lords Drummond, Dungan, Trenchard, Buchan, Hundson, and Brittas; the Bishops of Chester and Galway; the late Lord Chief-Justice Herbert; the Marquis d'Estrades; M. de Rosene, mareschal de champ; Mamoe, Pusignan, and Lori, lieutenant-generals; Prontee, engineer-general; the Marquis d'Abbeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; by the Colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrell, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcell, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two-and-twenty other officers of inferior rank.



French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you (said he) is, that I may never see you again." On the seventh day of March, James embarked at Brest, together with the Count d'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time, King William, perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon Admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in such a manner, by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion: for, although the Protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. This minister had disarmed all the other Protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry, for the service of his master.

In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board the Lord Granard, Judge Keating, and other Protestants, who had exhorted the lord-lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the Bishop of Chester, Colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the

James issues five proclamations at Dublin.

principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations: the first recalled all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation, and requiring all persons to join him against the Prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgment to his Catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity, and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the subjects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin; and in the fifth he summoned a Parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the Protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the Earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure, and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time, King James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join Colonel Crafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy; until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the

Siege of  
Londonderry.

governor to take the field, as the army of King James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately despatched to King James, with proposals of a negotiation; and Lieutenant-General Hamilton agreed that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's Town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships, and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and Major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place, and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and Major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to Colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion, for the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted: they had not one engineer to direct their operations: they had a very small number of horse: the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline: they were destitute of provisions: they were besieged by a king in person, at the

The inhabitants defend themselves with surprising courage and perseverance.

head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April: the batteries were soon opened, and several attacks were made with great impetuosity; but the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious distemper, as well as reduced to extremity, by want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of General Kirke, who had deserted his master, and been employed in the service of King William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Ineh, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillin, which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with Colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

King James having returned to Dublin, to be present at the Parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French General Rosene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They

Cruelty of  
Rosene, the  
French  
general.

had now consumed the last remains of their provision, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides, and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the Protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The Bishop of Meath, being informed of this design, complained to King James of the barbarous intention, entreating his majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel service: after having stripped all the Protestants for thirty miles round, they drove these unhappy people before them like cattle, without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced a quite contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the Protestants whom they had driven under the walls should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the Protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and sacked by the Papists, so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy; yet these very people had for the most part obtained protections from King James, to which no respect was paid by his general.

The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men, and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto

Londonderry relieved by Kirke.

lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provisions to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom: and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the Papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The Lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the Protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor, and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish Papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Macarty, commonly called Lord Montcashel.

The Irish Parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of King James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the generosity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion; and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle, being chosen speaker of the Commons,

The Inniskilliners defeat and take General Macarty.

Meeting of the Irish Parliament.

moved for an address of thanks to his majesty, and that the Count d'Avaux should be desired to make their acknowledgments to the most Christian king, for the generous assistance he had given to their sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both Houses, a bill was brought in to recognize the king's title, to express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the Prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had spread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his Protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of Parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in four-and-twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion.

His conduct, however, very ill agreed with his declaration; nor can it be excused on any other supposition, but that of his being governed, in some cases, against his own inclination, by the Count d'Avaux, and the Irish Catholics, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both Houses were chiefly filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of settlement, by which the Protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those Catholics to whom they belonged before their rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such Protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for Protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, Dr. Dopping, Bishop of Meath, opposed it with equal courage and ability: and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement was presented to the king by the Earl of Granard: but notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal assent: and the Protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

They repeal the act of settlement.

Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all Protestants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not own the authority of King James, or correspond with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of Protestants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three-and-thirty baronets, one-and-fifty knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription were even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal; for, by a clause in the act, the king's pardon was deemed null, unless enrolled before the first day of December. A subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English Parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his signal services; they imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the service of the king; the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience; they enacted that the tithes payable by Papists should be delivered to priests of that communion; the maintenance of the Protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away; and all dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared, immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

Nor was the king less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the Protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers

James  
coins base  
money.  
The Pro-  
testants of  
Ireland  
cruelly op-  
pressed.



were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered: licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked: the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majesty's occasions: an arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the Protestants in payment of merchandise, provision, and necessaries, for the king's service. James, not content with the supply granted by Parliament, imposed by his own authority a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This seems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two Houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months; it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals: and seems to have been a stretch of prerogative, the less excusable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the Protestants had laid out all their brass money in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see, his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off: the viceprovost, fellows, and scholars were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of a promise the king had made to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a popish priest was appointed provost: one Macarty of the same persuasion was made library-keeper: and the whole foundation was changed into a Catholic seminary.

Their churches are seized by the Catholics, and they are forbid to assemble on pain of death.

When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown

became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the Protestant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the king promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with this order, alleging that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his Protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the Protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrell, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majesty's horses within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all Protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of the base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expenses of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of King James. Before they sailed from Brest, King William, being informed of their destination, detached Admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition

Admiral  
Herbert  
worsted by  
the French  
fleet in an  
engagement  
near Ban-  
tey-bay.

that the French fleet had sailed from Brest ; and that, in all probability, he should fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May he discovered them at anchor in Bantrey-bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They no sooner perceived him at daybreak, than they weighed, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked several times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage ; but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about, and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides ; and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Seilly, where he expected a reinforcement ; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them ; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appease their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral on board the ship *Elizabeth*, declared his intention of creating him an earl in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honour of knighthood on the Captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor.

Barnet.  
Beresby.  
King.  
Belcarres.  
De la Fayette.  
Voltaire.

The Parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the Lords to examine the case of the Earl of Devonshire, who in

Divers sentences and attainders reversed, in Parliament.

the late reign had been fined thirty thousand pounds, for assaulting Colonel Culpepper in the presence chamber. They reported that the Court of King's Bench, in overruling the earl's plea of privilege of Parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to Lord Russel, in consequence of which he had been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the Commons recommended him to his majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his son, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the House of Lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the Commons: but the Peers having inserted some amendment and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the Lords, with the consent of the Commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to inquire into the cases of the state-prisoners found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief-justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the West after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners; and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jefferies from the resentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of Charles II.; these were now reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either under colour of law for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of *quo warranto*, endeavoured the subversion of the Protestant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of their infamous practices.

Nor did the misconduct of the present ministry escape the animadversion of the Parliament. The Lords having addressed the king to put the Isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the Papists, empowered a committee to inquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the Marquises of Caermarthen and Halifax. They presented an address to the king, desiring the minute-book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands; but his majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the Commons voted, that those persons who had advised the king to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The House resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring, that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, whether or not they should address the king against the Marquis of Halifax: but it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period, How, vice-chamberlain to the queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in Parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation.—This motion was levelled at Caermarthen and Halifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high treason under the title of Earl of Danby; and the other was charged with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from King James to his partizans being intercepted, and containing some hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole House, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a further supply to his majesty. In this unexpected motion, he was not seconded by one member. The House, however, having taken the letters into consideration, resolved to draw up an address to the king, desiring

*Inquiry into the cause of miscarriages in Ireland.*

him to secure and disarm all Papists of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting several persons in rebellion against their majesties: but it was not finished during this session.

Another bill being prepared in the House of Lords, en-  
Bills passed in this session of Parliament. joining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The Lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode; precautions were taken against a second riot; and the bill was unanimously rejected in the Upper House. This Parliament passed an act, vesting in the two universities the presentations belonging to Papists: those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression. The Protestant clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint, and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These, and several other bills of smaller importance, being passed, the two Houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

## CHAPTER II.

DUKE OF SCHOMBERG LANDS WITH AN ARMY IN IRELAND.—THE INNISKILLINERS OBTAIN A VICTORY OVER THE IRISH.—SCHOMBERG CENSURED FOR HIS INACTIVITY.—THE FRENCH WORSTED AT WALCOURT.—SUCCESS OF THE CONFEDERATES IN GERMANY.—THE TURKS DEFEATED AT PATOCHIN, NISSA, AND WIDEN.—DEATH OF POPE INNOCENT XI.—KING WILLIAM BECOMES UNPOPULAR.—A GOOD NUMBER OF THE CLERGY REFUSE TO TAKE THE OATHS.—THE KING GRANTS A COMMISSION FOR REFORMING CHURCH DISCIPLINE.—MEETING OF THE CONVOCATION.—THEIR SESSION DISCONTINUED BY REPEATED PROVOGATIONS.—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.—THE WHIGS OBSTRUCT THE BILL OF INDEMNITY.—THE COMMONS RESUME THE INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSE OF THE MISCARRIAGES IN IRELAND.—KING WILLIAM IRRITATED AGAINST THE WHIGS.—PLOT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT BY SIR JAMES MONTGOMERY DISCOVERED BY BISHOP BURNET.—WARM DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ABOUT THE CORPORATION-BILL.—THE KING RESOLVES TO FINISH THE IRISH WAR IN PERSON.—GENERAL LUDLOW ARRIVES IN ENGLAND, BUT IS OBLIGED TO WITHDRAW.—EFFORTS OF THE JACOBITES IN SCOTLAND.—THE COURT INTEREST TRIUMPHS OVER ALL OPPOSITION IN THAT COUNTRY.—THE TORY INTEREST PREVAILS IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.—BILL FOR RECOGNIZING THEIR MAJESTIES.—ANOTHER VIOLENT CONTEST ABOUT THE BILL OF ASSURANCE.—KING WILLIAM LANDS IN IRELAND.—KING JAMES MARCHES TO THE BOYNE.—WILLIAM RESOLVES TO GIVE HIM BATTLE.—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF SCHOMBERG.—JAMES EMBARKS FOR FRANCE.—WILLIAM ENTERS DUBLIN AND PUBLISHES HIS DECLARATION.—THE FRENCH OBTAIN A VICTORY OVER THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH FLEETS OFF BEECHY HEAD.—TORRINGTON COMMITTED PRISONER TO THE TOWER.—PROGRESS OF WILLIAM IN IRELAND.—HE INVESTS LIMERICK; BUT IS OBLIGED TO RAISE THE SIEGE, AND RETURNS TO ENGLAND.—CORK AND KINSALE REDUCED BY THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH.—LAUZUN AND THE FRENCH FORCES QUIT IRELAND.—THE DUKE OF SAVOY JOINS THE CONFEDERACY.—PRINCE WALDECK DEFEATED AT FLEURUS.—THE ARCHDUKE JOSEPH ELECTED KING OF THE ROMANS.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF LORRAINE.—PROGRESS OF THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.—MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT.—THE COMMONS COMPLY WITH ALL THE KING'S DEMANDS.—PETITION OF THE TOWNS IN THE CITY OF LONDON.—ATTEMPT AGAINST THE MARQUIS OF CAERMARTHEN.—THE KING'S VOYAGE TO HOLLAND.—HE ASSISTS AT A CONGRESS.—RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the Protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in such a manner, that King James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons, being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports prepared, the Duke of Schomberg, on whom King William had conferred the chief

1689.  
Duke of  
Schomberg  
lands with  
an army in  
Ireland.

command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the Commons for the uncommon regard they had paid to his services, and received assurances from the House, that they would pay particuliar attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood of Carriekfergus, with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carriekfergus, where they resolved to make a stand. The duke, having refreshed his men, marched thither, and invested the place: the siege was carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs, and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the duke was joined by the rest of his army from England: but he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the Protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton: thence he proceeded to Lough-brillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low damp ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

His army, consisting chiefly of new raised men little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men, had he not been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James, having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle; but the duke, knowing they were greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines, and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately

The Inniskilliners obtain a victory over the Irish.



after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by some French Papists, who had insinuated themselves into the Protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the ambassador D'Avaux, promising to desert with all the Papists of the French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial and executed. About two hundred and fifty Papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this situation, the Inniskilliners made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-seventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish. They killed seven hundred on the spot, and took O'Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approbation.

Meanwhile, the enemy took possession of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauver, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contagious distemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers; so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of those who went over with the general remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity, and the king, in repeated letters, desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur; but he did not think proper to run the risk of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation. At the approach of winter he retired into quarters, in hopes of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the King of Denmark. The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington, having sailed to

Schomberg  
censured  
for inac-  
tivity.

Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork, and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the States-General, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the King of Great Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry and twenty ships of the line: and that, provided hostilities should be committed against the States-General, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than King William despatched the Lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created Earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of King James when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of Prince Waldeek, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act against the French army commanded by the Mareschal d'Humieres; while the Prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality, and declare for the allies. Mareschal d'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States at Walcourt, in the month of August; an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion with the loss of two thousand men and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy.

The French were almost entire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserswaert, Philipsburgh, and Landau.

The French  
worsted at  
Walcourt.

They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spiers to ashes, and demolished Frankendahl, together with several other fortresses. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the Mareschal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground against the different princes of the empire. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation; the Elector of Brandenburg, having reduced Keiserswaert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Louis having, by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vilitz and Novi. The Prince of Baden, who commanded the imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Passarowitz, crossed that river, and marched in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a seraskier. On the thirtieth day of August he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, and forced their lines, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where the general finding them still more numerous than the imperialists, resolved to make a stand; and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue, he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the Prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoils of the enemy, and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed his army for a few days in this place, he resumed his march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous

Success of  
the confederates in  
Germany.  
The Turks  
defeated at  
Patochin,  
Nissa, and  
Widen.

post at Widen, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hesitation; and though the Mus-suhnen fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widen, which being surrendered to the victor, he distributed his troops in winter quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels.

The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the Duke de Noailles had taken  
 Death of Pope Innocent XI. Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the Duke de Villa Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Rousillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French king hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of Pope Innocent XI., which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis ever since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of Avignon.\* Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction against the Spanish and imperial interest. The French Cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large sum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The Duke de Chaulnes, ambassador from France, immediately signified, in the name of his master, that Avignon should be restored to the patrimony of the church; and Louis renounced the franchises, in a letter

\* The franchises were privileges of asylum, annexed not only to the houses of ambassadors at Rome, but even to the whole district in which any ambassador chanced to live. This privilege was become a terrible nuisance, inasmuch as it afforded protection to the most atrocious criminals, who filled this city with rapine and murder. Innocent XI. resolving to remove this evil, published a bull, abolishing the franchises; and almost all the Catholic powers of Europe acquiesced in what he had done, upon being duly informed of the grievance. Louis XIV. however, from a spirit of pride and insolence, refused to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He said the King of France was not the imitator, but a pattern and example for other princes. He rejected with disdain the mild representations of the pope; he sent the Marquis de Laverden as his ambassador to Rome, with a formidable train, to insult Innocent even in his own city. That nobleman swaggered through the streets of Rome like a bravo, taking all opportunities to affront the pope, who excommunicated him in revenge. On the other hand, the Parliament of Paris appealed from the pope's bull to a future council. Louis caused the pope's nuncio to be put under arrest, took possession of Avignon, which belonged to the see of Rome, and set the holy father at defiance.

written by his own hand to the new pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the ambassador and Furstemberg besought him to re-examine the election of the Bishop of Cologne, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the Prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstemberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Louis immediately gratified him with the Abbey of St. Germain.

King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects, among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who exerted themselves for his elevation had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unsuitable to the manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve, which had all the air of sullen pride; he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet, retired from all communication; or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by physicians as necessary to improve his constitution, which was naturally weak, and by practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill health co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person; this was increased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace; he likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the Earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised

King William becomes unpopular.

by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he resorted to the races at Newmarket; he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved himself with remarkable affability to the members of the university; he afterwards dined with the Lord Mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers.

While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the Parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience; and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favour of their late sovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of nonjurors; but their number bore a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as redounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to King James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other sense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful," when the form was under debate. They alleged that, as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous and of worse tendency than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which had been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Though this set of temporizers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the Papists, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by limiting his favour and preferment to such as were latitudinarians in religion, and by

A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths.

his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannized in their turn. They were headed by the Earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen president of the Parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the Episcopalians in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to King James. Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent was reported in England; and the Earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended bishops, circulated these particulars with great assiduity. The oaths being rejected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester, being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, in which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

All the clamour that was raised against the king could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorizing them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and the canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the Protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an ecclesiastical court illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the Doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were averse to any alteration of the forms and constitution of the church in favour of an insolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been satisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They observed, that an attempt to make such alteration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into disesteem

The king grants a commission for reforming church discipline.

with the people, as it would be a plain acknowledgment that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the church, by condescending to make offers which the dissenters were at liberty to refuse: and they suspected some of their colleagues of a design to give up episcopal ordination—a step inconsistent with their honour, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection; but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to inflame the minds of the people. The two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them. The king himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the Convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the comprehension scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson, clerk of the closet to his majesty, as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was accounted the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech to the Bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the Lower House, asserted that the liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.*" We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed." The bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren, the dissenters, and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying Christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The Lower House seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition. Next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being sealed, and that a prorogation was necessary until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval means were used to mollify their non-compliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the Earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both Houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a

Meeting of  
the Convo-  
cation.



pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice, and consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed: he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the Protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

The bishops, adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty, which, being sent to the Lower House for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed; a conference ensued, and after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the Lower House, far from taking any measures in favour of dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the Convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss; yet rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the Christian religion. The president and his party, perceiving the disposition of the House, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation, and the king suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations.

The Parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war. He desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject, for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the despatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimously concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory

Proceedings in Parliament.

bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the king, after having consulted both Houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the House of Lords, and prorogued the Parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new speaker, Sir Robert Atkins, the Marquis of Halifax having resigned that office. When they re-assembled, the king referred them to his former speech; then the Commons unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France: for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions.

During this session the whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The Commons resolved to impeach the Earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the estate of the late Lord Chancellor Jefferies forfeited to the crown, and attain his blood; but it met with such opposition that the measure was dropped: the House however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against popish recusants should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The Lord Griffin, being detected in maintaining a correspondence with King James and his partisans, was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sidney was unjustly condemned in the reign of Charles II. because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two Houses concurred in appointing a committee to inquire who were the advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, Sir Thomas Armstrong,

The whigs  
obstruct  
the bill of  
indemnity.

Alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of *quo warranto*, and the surrender of charters. This inquiry was levelled at the Marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all these severities. Though no proof appeared, upon which votes or addresses could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration; he therefore resigned the privy-seal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the torics, of whom he became the patron and protector.

The Commons likewise resumed the examinations of the miscarriages in Ireland, and desired the king would appoint commissioners, to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg; understanding that he had been blamed in the House of Commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the king a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The Commons immediately presented an address to his majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores should be secured; and that Duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to understand that he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose. Nevertheless, they, in another petition, requested his majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under King James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards sent a message to the House, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service, as well as to nominate certain persons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The Commons were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct. Instances of mismanagement appeared so numerous and so flagrant, that they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the

The Commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland.

authors of these miscarriages, and for the future intrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, on suspicion of their having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions, and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry. Mr. Hambden expressed his surprise that the administration should consist of those very persons whom King James had employed when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the Prince of Orange, and moved that the king should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the Earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess; but his motion was not seconded, the court-members observing that James did not depute those lords to the Prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highness. The House, however, voted an address to the king, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the House? and a very warm debate ensued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition that by such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the whigs was their backwardness in promoting the public service, and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said, his title was no more than a pageant, and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour, in all probability, first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the insinuations of his enemies. The Scots who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their Parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the Earl of Portland employed as a spy, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an

King Wil-  
liam irri-  
tated  
against the  
whigs.

active and intelligent partisan and agent of King James; by which means he supplied the earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the earl against the king's best friends, and infusing jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the Revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled king. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. They reconciled themselves to the Duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party; they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the king and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to ensnare and ruin the fast friends of the government, and found means to alienate them so much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished prince. The Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Monmouth, were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose; they seemed to think James was now so well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme, and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance in favour of the Roman Catholics. Montgomery's brother assured the Bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with King James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be conveyed

Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery discovered by Bishop Burnet.

out of the kingdom. Williamson, the supposed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders, and a messenger, being sent in pursuit of him, secured his clothes and portmanteau : but, after a very strict examination, nothing appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety at France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery, the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the bishop, and dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry, and the king on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

The tories still continued to carry on a secret negotiation with the court. They took advantage of the ill humour subsisting between the king and the whigs ; and promised large supplies of money, provided this Parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party, being apprised of their intention, brought a bill into the House of Commons for restoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations ; and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the tories was exerted against this clause ; and now the whigs vied with them in making court to his majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience, should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the tories was now become so formidable in the House, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected ; but the bill passed in its original form. The Lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered ? Lord Chief Justice Holt and two other judges declared their opinion in the affirmative : the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the abbeyes were surrendered : and this instance seemed too violent to authorize such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice

Warm debates in Parliament about the Corporation-bill.

only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the king, who found himself so perplexed and distracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, who pressed him to lay aside his resolution, and even mingled tears with their remonstrances.

He at length complied with their request, and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This design was far from being agreeable to the Parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The well-wishers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field against him in person: both Houses, therefore, began to prepare an address against this expedition. In order to prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the Parliament, and formally signified his resolution. After his speech, they were prorogued to the second day of April. On the sixth day of February, they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament was summoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this session, the Commons, in an address to the king, desired that a revenue of fifty thousand pounds might be settled upon the Prince and Princess of Denmark, out of the civil list; and his majesty gratified them in this particular: yet the warmth and industry with which the friends of the princess exerted themselves in promoting the settlement, produced a coldness and misunderstanding between the two sisters; and the subsequent disgrace of the Earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of the bedchamber, and chief confidant of the princess, whom she strenuously advised to insist upon the settlement, rather than depend upon the generosity of the king and queen.

About this period, General Ludlow, who at the Restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I., arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man, and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over, and probably would have been

The king resolves to finish the Irish war in person.

General Ludlow arrives in England, but is obliged to withdraw.

employed, had not the Commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in the House, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the parricides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the king, desiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending General Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

While King William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites and Montgomery's party of discontented presbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who succeeded the Viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of the late king's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was Colonel Bucan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malecontents; but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone, while Major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the Isle of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James, despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in Parliament; where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new-cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in Parliament, the Earl

Efforts of  
the Ja-  
cobites in  
Scotland.



of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged: some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with King James; made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negotiations: in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

The Earls of Argyle, Annandale, and Breadalbane, withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted something of the plot to Melvil, and solicited a pass from the queen, which was refused. Annandale, having received information that Montgomery had disclosed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himself upon the queen's mercy, and disclosed all he knew of the conspiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malecontents in England, they remained secure from his evidence; but he informed against Nevil Payne, who had been sent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now resided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in consequence of a letter from the Earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the torture, which he resolutely bore, without discovering his employers. Montgomery still absconded in London, soliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full discovery, he abandoned his country, and chose to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This disunion of the conspirators, and discovery of the plot, left the Earl of Melvil in possession of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to secure by overstraining his instructions in the articles of patronage, and the supremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic presbyterians, contrary to the intention of King William. In lieu of these, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money: as well as with a test to be imposed upon all persons in office and Parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of King James. All the laws in favour of episcopacy were repealed. Threescore of the presbyterian ministers, who had been ejected at the Restoration, were still alive; and these the Parliament declared the only sound part of the church. The government of it was lodged in their

The court interest triumphs over all opposition in that country.

hands; and they were empowered to admit such as they should think proper to their assistance. A few furious fanatics being thus associated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny against which they themselves had so loudly exclaimed.

While the presbyterian interest thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new Parliament, and the tories obtained the victory. The king seemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the lieutenancy of London at the king's accession to the crown; and now a considerable number of the most violent tories in the city were admitted into the commission by the interest and address of the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were dismissed from their employments: nay, when the Parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the Commons chose for their speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partisan of that faction, who had been created Master of the Rolls by the late king. He was a bold, artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the court, provided he should be supplied with the necessary sums for the purposes of corruption. William, finding there was no other way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of purchasing votes, and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his speech to the new Parliament, he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland. He desired they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the service of the government might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no colour of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government; he recommended an union with Scotland, the Parliament of

An. 1690.  
The tory  
interest  
prevails in  
the new  
Parliament  
of England.

Burnet.  
Belcarres.  
Kennet.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.

which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: he told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen, and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to despatch the business for which they were assembled, to avoid debates, and expressed his hope that they should soon meet again to finish what might be now left imperfect.

The Commons, in compliance with this request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, one million of that sum to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue bills; but he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term, but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent Parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other supplies were granted, and both parties seemed to court his majesty, by advancing money on those funds of credit. The whigs, however, had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the Upper House, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms, and for declaring all the acts of the last Parliament to be good and valid. The torics were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the whigs lost their majority on the report; nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words, in consequence of a nervous, spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it could preponderate against the torics, the chiefs of whom, with the Earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the House of Commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made, that it might be committed for amend-

Bill for  
recognizing  
their maj-  
esties.

ment; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of the faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers, the solicitor-general, who observed, that if it was not a legal Parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of high treason: the laws repealed by it were still in force: it was their duty, therefore, to return to King James: and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that Parliament were highly criminal. The tories were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without farther opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. Thus the settlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal: but the whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interested in the dispute.

There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure King James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the tories opposed it with great vehemence; while the whigs, under countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions seemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the tories represented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation: that those who declared against the bill would grow sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other motion that might be made for the king's service: that, in case of its being carried, his majesty must fall again into the hands of the whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who were now either well-affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with King William, that he sent an intimation to the Commons, desiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The whigs in general were disgusted at this interposition; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others,

Another  
violent con-  
test about  
the bill of  
abjuration.

who were supposed to have credit with the earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment : but he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the House of Lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late king and his adherents ; but they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might ; and the House was so equally divided, that neither side was willing to hazard a decision ; so that all the fruit of their debates was a prolongation of the session.

An act was prepared for investing the queen with the administration during the king's absence : another for reversing the judgment on a *quo warranto* against the city of London, and restoring it to its ancient rights and privileges ; and at length, the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended by the king passed both Houses.<sup>a</sup> On the twenty-first day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted ; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The Houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July ; when the Parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a farther security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorized to raise the militia in case of necessity. All Papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode : a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons : Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester, and many other

<sup>a</sup> The following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, Marquis of Powis ; Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon ; Robert, Earl of Sunderland ; John, Earl of Melford ; Roger, Earl of Castlemain ; Nathaniel, Lord Bishop of Durham ; Thomas, Lord Bishop of St. David's ; Henry, Lord Dover ; Lord Thomas Howard ; Sir Edward Hales ; Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesly, Colonel Townly, Colonel Lundy, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petro, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George Lord Jefferies, deceased.

persons of distinction; on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the Duke of Schomberg, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Major-General Kirke, and other officers. By this time Colonel Wolsey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle; and that of Charlemont, a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William, having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head-quarters at Lisburne: then advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, when he found it amount to six-and-thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English Parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been six days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no sooner known than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Luttrell, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, resolved to stand battle. They promised to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Louis had proposed to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops,

King James  
marches to  
the Boyne.

advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured by a morass and a rising ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet, rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his clothes and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp resounded with acclamation; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to show himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed his design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined, that, early in the morning, Lieutenant-General Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horse, should pass at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot should force their passage at Oldbridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke, perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying it was the first that had ever

William  
resolves to  
give James  
battle.

been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy, by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

At six o'clock in the morning, General Douglas, with Battle of the Boyne. young Schomberg, the Earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led on to the charge through the morass, while Count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the count was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, King William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side; but he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. These poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without farther opposition. Yet before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by General Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the Duke of Schomberg passed the river in person, put himself at the head of the French Protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen," said he, "those are



your persecutors:" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse, which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head: but the French regiments, being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of King James rallied, and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the centre, when King William, having passed with the left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunmore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled; even the Inniskilliners gave way; and the whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons, belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Levison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers, as soon checked their ardour. The horse, which were broken, had now time to rally, and, returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action General Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken; an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no farther efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance; and he replied, "Upon my honour, I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse entire." William, eyeing him with a look of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field

with precipitation: but the French and Swiss troops, that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance.

As King William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, and the English about one-third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the time in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an English woman, daughter of Lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country, on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He attained to the dignities of mareschal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the Protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the Protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a cheerful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming "*A la gloire, mes enfans; à la gloire!* To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of King James. He had been very graciously received by King William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side were the Lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O'Neile, and the Marquis of Hoquincourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory

Death and  
character  
of Schom-  
berg.

declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to reassemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat—an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea, he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the Papists. The Protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the Bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to King William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his presence.

On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the Duke of Ormond, with a body of

James embarks for France.

William enters Dublin, and publishes his declaration.

horse, to take possession. They were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the king encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the Bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the Protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors, who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue to whom they should be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations which had been committed upon the Protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those who were truly penitent. The next step taken by King William was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford; returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into whigs and tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, Lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch

The French obtain a victory over the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head.

squadron, stood out to sea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel: not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle. Their fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fireships: whereas the combined squadrons of England and Holland did not exceed six-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June, at daybreak. The Dutch squadron, which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy, and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French, and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye: an English ship of seventy guns, being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire and deserted by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her; but the captain defended her so vigorously that they were obliged to desist, and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement, the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel, rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and, having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

The government was infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malecontents of the nation; that insurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people inflamed their aversion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen by the Cornish tanners, by the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-General, who exclaimed against the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct.

Torrington  
committed  
prisoner  
to the  
Tower.

A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French seemed to threaten a descent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tintmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels; then they re-embarked and returned to Brest, so vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the whig partisans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them, otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment. The queen issued a proclamation for apprehending the Earls of Lichfield, Aylesbury, and Castlemain; Viscount Preston; the Lords Mont-

gomery and Bellasis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers. These were accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The Earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the Upper House, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal; at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the Admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the blue in the engagement. The earl was acquitted, but the king dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges.

William is said to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English transports, but likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate King William. No such attempt, however, was made, and in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached General Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone, while he himself, having left Trelawney to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchiquin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for King James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resolved to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas, receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprise, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At

Progress of  
William in  
Ireland.

Carlow he detached the Duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, Major General Kirke was sent to Waterford, the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the Lord Dover and the Lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the king's mercy and protection.

On the first day of August, William, being at Chapel-  
He invests Limerick, but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England.
Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests, and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch had circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The king had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick; in which Monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the Duke of Berwick and Colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the king having called in his detachment, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange would be a vigorous defence of the town which his majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, Colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some



cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great resolution. At length the king ordered his troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly assaulted with great fury; but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This disappointment concurring with the badness of the weather, which became rainy and unwholesome, induced the king to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being sent away, the army decamped, and marched towards Cloumel. William having constituted the Lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby lords justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with Count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon with Prince George of Denmark on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in Kingroad, near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor.

About the latter end of this month the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland, with five thousand English troops, to attack Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to King William. Having landed his soldiers without much opposition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thousand men, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl a dispute arose about the command: but this was compromised by the interposition of La Mellionere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity, that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged; but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The Duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault, the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the governor and Colonel Ricaut, the victor found the Earls of Clancarte and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough, having taken possession of Cork, detached Brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the

Cork and Kinsale reduced by the Earl of Marlborough.

town and forts of Kinsale, and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault; but Sir Edward Scott, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The Earl of Marlborough, having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

During these transactions, Count de Lauzun, commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the Duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to M. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles for having deserted the cause before it was desperate: Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, solicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms, clothes, and ammunition for the Irish army, which he said would continue firm to the interest of King James, if thus supported. Meanwhile they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparees: while the troops of King William either enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harassed.

The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the emperor and King of Spain, and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself, than Catinat, the French general, entered his territories at the head of eighteen thousand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with several other places, pursued the duke to Carignan, surprised Suza,

The Duke  
of Savoy  
joins the  
confederacy.

and distributed his forces in winter quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the duchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The duke, finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the emperor and the King of Spain, demanded assistance of the States-General and King William: to this last he sent an ambassador, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the states, under Prince Waldeck, should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the Duke of Luxembourg in Flanders; while the Elector of Brandenburg should observe the Marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle; but, before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxembourg.

Prince Waldeck, understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river Pieton, and detached the Count of Berlo, with a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Fleurus, and slain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in numbers: after a very obstinate engagement the allies gave way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution and success. The Duke of Luxembourg owned with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the Elector of Brandenburg; so that the confederate army amounted to five-and-fifty thousand men, and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-

Prince  
Waldeck  
defeated at  
Fleurus.

Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxembourg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless, Prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he not been prohibited from hazarding another engagement by an express order of the States-General; and when this restriction was removed, the elector would not venture a battle.

By this time the emperor's son Joseph was by the electoral college chosen King of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant Duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsy, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French king, against whom he had formerly declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the duke's design. At his death the command of the imperial army was conferred upon the Elector of Bavaria. This prince, having joined the Elector of Saxony, advanced against the Dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort-Louis with a considerable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the Duke of Bavaria checked his progress, and he acted on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. The emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field under a new visir. In the month of August, Count Tekeli defeated a body of imperialists near Cronstadt, in Transylvania; then convoking the states of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their sovereign; but his reign was of short duration. Prince Louis, of Baden, having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Meanwhile the grand visir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with surprising resolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion.

The Arch-  
duke  
Joseph  
elected  
King of the  
Romans.  
Death of  
the Duke of  
Lorraine.  
Progress of  
the war  
against the  
Turks.

Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown; the ditch was filled up, and so large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the imperialists were in possession of Transylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausenburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: these last were totally dispersed by Prince Louis of Baden: but Prince Augustus of Hanover, whom he had detached against the count, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprised of the fate of his allies, and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow that frequently chokes up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and Prince Louis returned to Vienna.

King William having published a proclamation requiring the attendance of the members on the second day of October, both Houses met accordingly, and he <sup>Meeting of the Parliament.</sup> opened the session with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expense; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be prosecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; assured them that the success of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and despatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition; and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumours of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valour which William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the resentment of the

nation against the adherents of the late king, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both Houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and sagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The Commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expenses, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and settled the funds for that purpose.

The Commons comply with all the king's demands. They proposed to raise one million by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland: they resolved that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a clause empowering the king to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms as he should think proper. This clause was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were supposed to have been suggested by the court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the king's favourites: nevertheless, the bill passed the Lower House, and was sent up to the Lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that Lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the king, who not only dismissed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the House of Lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the excise, he told the Parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expense of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly passed for granting to their majesties the duties on goods imported, for five years; and these, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the king observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building ad-

ditional ships of war,<sup>1</sup> and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition as even seemed to anticipate the king's desires. This liberality and despatch were in a great measure owing to the management of Lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treasury, and Sir John Somers, the solicitor-general. The place of secretary of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with Lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

Notwithstanding the act for reversing the proceedings against the city-charter, the whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilkington continued mayor, and Robinson retained the office of chamberlain. The tories of the city, presuming upon their late services, presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament, for reversing the judgment on the *quo warranto*, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old aldermen elected by commission under the late king's great seal still acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not duly returned as mayor by the common-hall; and, That he and the aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the common-council were illegally excluded, and others duly elected were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. In the late panic which overspread the nation, the whigs had appeared to be the moneyed men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason the court now inter-

<sup>1</sup> This supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, That the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit; That the surplus of the grants they had made, after the current service was provided for, should be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it should be lawful for their majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds, out of the said grants, on condition of that sum being repaid from the revenue.—Ralph.

posed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonstrance.

The Marquis of Caermarthen, lord president, who was at the head of the tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and inquire whether impeachments continued *in statu quo* from Parliament to Parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but the marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in consequence of the following question: "Whether the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached in the former Parliament, for being reconciled to the church of Rome, shall be discharged from their bail?" The House resolved in the affirmative, and several lords entered a protest. The Commons having finished a bill for appointing commissioners to take and state the public accounts, and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the House of Lords. There the Earl of Rochester moved, That they should add some of their number to those of the Commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but Rochester himself being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them, it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity; and assured them of his particular favour and protection. Then Lord Chief Baron Atkins signified his majesty's pleasure, that the two houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March.<sup>1</sup>

William, having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January; but the ship in which he proposed to embark being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at.

<sup>1</sup> In this year the English planters repossessed themselves of part of the island of St. Christopher's, from which they had been driven by the French.



Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Auverquerque and Zuytlestein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet, and, night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the king asked if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the Isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut: then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Measlandsluys. A deputation of the States received him at Hounslardyke: about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the *Statès-General*, the States of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with surprising magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

At a solemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and despatch. He declared he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the King of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied the Duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of opera-

He assists  
at a con-  
gress. Ro-  
turns to  
England.

tions was settled, and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the congress broke up, the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Bergue: but the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested, than he ordered Prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle, near Brussels; but when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other necessities for the expedition. Meanwhile, the burghers of Mons, seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the besiegers: so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William, being apprised of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the negligence of a female servant.

## CHAPTER III.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT BY LORD PRESTON AND OTHERS. — THE KING FILLS UP THE VACANT BISHOPRICS. — AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND. — CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS. — PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH IN PIEDMONT. — ELECTION OF A NEW POPE. — THE EMPEROR'S SUCCESS AGAINST THE TURKS. — AFFAIRS OF IRELAND. — GENERAL GINCKEL REDUCES ATHLONE. — DEFEATS THE IRISH AT AORRIM. — UNDERTAKES THE SIEGE OF LIMERICK. — THE FRENCH AND IRISH OBTAIN AN HONOURABLE CAPITULATION. — TWELVE THOUSAND IRISH CATHOLICS ARE TRANSPORTED TO FRANCE. — MEETING OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT. — DISCONTENT OF THE NATION. — TRANSACTIONS IN PARLIAMENT. — DISPUTES CONCERNING THE BILL FOR REGULATING TRIALS IN CASES OF HIGH TREASON. — THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH FLEETS WORSTED BY THE FRENCH IN AN ENGAGEMENT OFF REACHY HEAD. — THE KING DISOBLIGES THE PRESBYTERIANS OF SCOTLAND. — THE EARL OF BREADALBANE UNDERTAKES FOR THE SUBMISSION OF THE HIGHLANDERS. — MASSACRE OF GLENCOE. — PREPARATIONS FOR A DESCENT UPON ENGLAND. — DECLARATION OF KING JAMES. — EFFORTS OF HIS FRIENDS IN ENGLAND. — PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY THE QUEEN FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE NATION. — ADMIRAL RUSSEL PUTS TO SEA. — HE OBTAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH FLEET OFF LA HOGUE. — TROOPS EMBARKED AT ST. HELEN'S FOR A DESCENT UPON FRANCE. — THE DESIGN LAID ASIDE. — THE TROOPS LANDED AT OSTEND. — THE FRENCH KING TAKES NAMUR IN SIGHT OF KING WILLIAM. — THE ALLIES ARE DEFEATED AT STEENKIRK. — EXTRAVAGANT REJOICINGS IN FRANCE ON ACCOUNT OF THIS VICTORY. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF KING WILLIAM, HATCHED BY THE FRENCH MINISTRY. — MISCARRIAGE OF A DESIGN UPON DUNKIRK. — THE CAMPAIGN IS INACTIVE ON THE RHINE AND IN HUNGARY. — THE DUKE OF SAVOY INVADÉS DAUPHINÉ. — THE DUKE OF HANOVER CREATED AN ELECTOR OF THE EMPIRE.

A CONSPIRACY against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barking, in Essex, informed the Marquis of Caermarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over some persons to France; and that they would embark on the thirteenth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was sent to Captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible: among the rest, two letters, supposed to be written by Turner, Bishop of Ely, to King James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king, to assist King James in re-ascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be

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Conspiracy  
against the  
government by  
Lord  
Preston  
and others.

absent from the kingdom ; but the scheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom, the chiefs were the Earl of Clarendon, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Preston, his brother, Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outeries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston, and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old-Bailey for compassing the death of their majesties King William and Queen Mary ; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alleged, in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment : that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel : that the papers were not found upon him : that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact ; whereas, the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands, and mere supposition. He was, nevertheless, found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to General Wordon, who, on his deathbed, conjured him to go thither, and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending ; as well as with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him : he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial ; and called several persons to prove him a Protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was browbeaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody : yet there was no privy proved ; and the whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to King James ; he witnessed to the birth of the Prince of Wales ; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge ; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty ; and they boldly affirmed, that his

chief crime in the eyes of the government was his having among his baggage an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed supposititious.<sup>1</sup> Lord Preston obtained a pardon: Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him: the Earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country: an indulgence which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first-cousin. The Bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn, absconded: and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

Burnet.  
State  
Tracts.  
Burchet.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.

This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy furnished the king with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of Parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions: but, as they declined this expedient, the king resolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotson,<sup>2</sup> one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed very well satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of resignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation, by which they had been animated in the persecution they suffered under the late government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their present affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to

The king  
fills up the  
vacant  
bishoprics.

<sup>1</sup> To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of King James's adherents, importing, that some grave and learned persons should be authorized to compile a treatise, showing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in case the performance should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they had hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to this summons was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.

<sup>2</sup> Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moor to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The nonjurors affirmed, that Christianity was a doctrine of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive Christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invasion of their rights; and, that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by Scripture was indiscriminate, "the powers that be, are ordained of God—let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them concealed party under the cloak of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said, it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines attached themselves solely to possession, however unjustly acquired; that, if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognize the last, notwithstanding the allegiance they had so solemnly sworn to his predecessor, like the fawning spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his master's horse, after having murdered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay-deprivation, and with respect to church-government started the same distinctions "*de jure* and *de facto*," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers: their sermony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the Revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of King James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate, who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government;

and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of the new settlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interest of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character; inveighed against his measures: they accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes, of the last and of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate; all sorts of informers were encouraged and caressed: in a proclamation issued against Papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make search, and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious Affairs of Scotland. and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the king dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve King William, provided he would balance the power of Melvil and his partisans, in such a manner as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely disgusted at the presbyterians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvil. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James

the more effectually. The Scottish Parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent : a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence ; to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the enemies of the government ; and the Earl of Home, with Sir Peter Fraser and Sir Æneas Macpherson, were apprehended and imprisoned.

The king, having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where General Ginckel exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce ; then, leaving the queen as before at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by Lord Sidney, secretary of state, the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the Duke of Luxembourg having passed the Scheldt at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up entrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the Marquis de Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, entrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, King William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the Count de Tilly, with ten thousand men, to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raised the siege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburg, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted his invention in marches, counter-marches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement : the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. In the course of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other ; but they were situated in such a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvan-



tage. While the king lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; even while the fuses were burning they disengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill; so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the Duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible share of infamy on the French general, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Court-sur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage, and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at La Busiere, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy, perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde: William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in his post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army, and passed the Meuse at Namur: then the king returned to the Haguc, leaving the command to Prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuse, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxembourg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that his rear was surprised and defeated, though the French were at last obliged to retire: the prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retired into winter quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Noailles besieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the Count d'Etrées, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant.

The confederates had proposed to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken

Progress of  
the French  
in Pied-  
mont.

to furnish troops to join the Duke of Savoy; and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The Elector of Bavaria was nominated to the supreme command of the imperial forces in that country: the Marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milanese, acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch: Duke Schomberg, son of that great general who lost his life at the Boyne, lately created Duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William, as King of England and Stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois, paid by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progress in their conquest. Catinat besieged and took Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the Marquis de Feuquieres to invest Coni, a strong fortress garrisoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Coni was besieged; and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste, so that he had free admission into the Vercellois, and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment: the people were dispirited and clamorous, and their sovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken, and his palace of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments, and Prince Eugene<sup>a</sup> supported his remonstrance: but this proposal was vehemently opposed by the Marquis de Leganez, who foresaw that, if the duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by Prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horse: at Magliano, he was reinforced by five thousand militia: Bulonde, who commanded at the

<sup>a</sup> Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who in the sequel rivalled the fame of the greatest warriors of antiquity, was descended on the father's side from the house of Savoy, and on the mother's from the family of Soissons, a branch of the house of Bourbon. His father was Eugene Maurice, of Savoy, Count of Soissons, colonel of the Switzers and governor of Champagne and Brie; his mother was the celebrated Olympia de Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarine. Prince Eugene, finding himself neglected at the court of France, engaged as a soldier of fortune in the service of the emperor, and soon distinguished himself by his great military talents; he was, moreover, an accomplished gentleman, learned, liberal, mild, and courteous; an unshaken friend; a generous enemy; an invincible captain; a consummate politician.

siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace. Hoguette abandoned the valley of Aoste: Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal: and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aste.

The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois, the minister of Louis, so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the Election of a new pope. event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont had a still greater influence over the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new pope, in the room of Alexander VIII., who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by Cardinal d'Etrées, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and imperial interest, and Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the last pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles, to solicit a reinforcement. Then Prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Meanwhile the Marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honourable conditions.

This summer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprise Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The imperial army, under the Elector of Saxony,

passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French crossing the same river at Philipsburgh, reduced the town of Portzheim in the marquisate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the scheme, projected by the emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his general, the Elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by Prince Louis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The imperialists afterwards undertook the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so dispirited by the defeat by which they had lost the grand visir, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overshot his success. He was weak, vain, and superstitious; he imagined that, now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, King William, with the rest of his allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that in the mean time he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble, that the ministry, rather than be at the expense of defending the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to King William, either as monarch of England, or Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a Protestant government; but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the Elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of signalizing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was relished by the court of Spain: the emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he was immediately declared Governor of the Low Countries by the Council of State at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign. That affair being discussed, he embarked in the Maese, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

The emperor's success against the Turks.

Before we explain the proceedings in Parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season, the Affairs of Ireland. French king had sent a large supply of provisions, clothes, and ammunition for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of Monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a great number of French officers furnished with commissions from King James, though St. Ruth issued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine vessels, laden with succours of the same nature: otherwise the Irish could not have been so long kept together. Nor, indeed, could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The lords justices, in conjunction with General Ginckel, had taken every step their prudence could suggest, to quiet the disturbances of the country, and prevent such violence and rapine, of which the soldiers in King William's army were not entirely innocent. The justices had issued proclamations denouncing severe penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression; they promised to protect all Papists who should live quietly within a certain frontier line; and Ginckel gave the Catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field, several skirmishes had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and General Ginckel was reinforced by Mackay, General Ginckel reduces Athlone. with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. Thus strengthened, he, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under Colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garrison for its defence,

and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and, supported by the Irish army, encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken sword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by Captain Sandys and two lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment, and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty abreast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that in half an hour it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in the attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Ptolemache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river; and General Ginckel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success, on this occasion, was created Earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed, by express, that the English had entered the river, he said it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thousand pistoles they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again; but the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable, and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having, by draughts from garrisons, aug-

mented his army to five-and-twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

Genkel, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle; though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand, and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations; to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the Prince of Orange. Genkel had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suck, within three miles of the enemy; after having reconnoitred their posture, he resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began, about twelve o'clock, to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but, perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English advanced to the right

Defeats the  
Irish at  
Aghrim.

of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they lost it by inches. St. Ruth, seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his centre and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the morass, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss, and St. Ruth exclaimed—"Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve the advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing, and first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major-General Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St. Ruth, perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose, he began to descend Kircomodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon-ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for, though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the whole line, giving way at once from right



to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and in the pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken; together with all their baggage, tents, provisions, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive, and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which were accordingly secured. Then Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from Lord Dillon and General D'Ussone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed safe conduct to Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for King James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrell had been seized by the French general D'Ussone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August the

Undertakes  
the siege of  
Limerick.

enemy were driven from all their advanced posts: Captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: the Irish army lay encamped on the other side of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation that they threw down their arms, and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured, and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckel passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon.

Then the English made a lodgment within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and Colonel Wahop signified their resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately

The French and Irish obtain an honourable capitulation.

begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The lords justices arrived in the camp on the first day of October, and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman Catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II., and the lords justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in Parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles, was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months, and use their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. The subsequent

article was calculated to indemnify Colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created Lord Lucan by King James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and General Ginckel engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, that the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be paid for on their arrival in France: that hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: that all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses with the honours of war: that the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: that those who should choose to stay behind might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: that the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty: and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence.—This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman Catholics considered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckel; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should entrench themselves till the Irish could embark, that no disorders might arise from a communication.

The Protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their

Twelve thousand Irish Catholics are transported to France.

losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of war: they were transported, at the government's expense, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honourable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti: the Roman Catholic interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority: attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot, and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield: but three regiments, refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the seventh day of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French squadron, which had arrived in the bay of Dingle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of King William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; assured them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the King of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, Baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the House of Commons for his great services, after he had been created Earl of Athlone by his majesty. When the Parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the king, in his speech, insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each House pre-

Meeting of  
the English  
Parliament.

sented an address of congratulation upon his majesty's safe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both Houses of Parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

A great number of individuals, who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interests of the nation sacrificed to foreign connexions, and the king's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his English subjects. They observed that the number of forces he demanded was considerably greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger: that, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burden, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the king absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late king did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They renewed their animadversions upon the disagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reserve, his sullen silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the Earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, immediately after the signal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an ascendancy over the Princess Anne of Denmark, and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malecontents of the whiggish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scrupled not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in Parliament; that the king was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predecessors had ever been; and that he even

Discontent  
of the  
nation.

ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the Earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-counsellors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority; he proposed severity as one of the best supports of government; was clear in his understanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleasure, who possessed the most plausible and winning address; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs in the midst of riot and debauchery. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. He enjoyed the office of paymaster in the army of King James: and now maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the House, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the king's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a proscolyte, and was brought into the treasury.

The Commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds, for the use of the ensuing year: but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was <sup>Trans-</sup><sup>actions in</sup> retarded, partly by the ill-humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs, that diverted the attention of the Commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the House against the East-India Company, charging them with manifold abuses; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute inquiry into the nature of the complaints, the Commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East-India Company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment: but divers petitions being presented against it, and the company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the House

addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore, he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The Parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the Papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined: but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's Bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the House of Commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that Colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no such persons were found. Then the House declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the Commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent.

A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, having been laid aside by the Lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the Lower House. The design of this bill was to secure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns: it provided, that the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the panel, ten days before his trial; and, that his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The Lords, in their own behalf, added a clause, enacting, that upon a trial of any peer or peeress, for treason or misprision of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in Parliament should be duly summoned to assist at the trial; that this notice should be given twenty days before the trial; and, that every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The Commons rejected this amendment; and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own

Disputes  
concerning  
the bill for  
regulating  
trials in  
cases of  
high trea-  
son.



opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped; for the Commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expense of purchasing a new privilege to the Lords; and without this advantage, the peers would not contribute to their relief.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the Lower House, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Russel, who com-  
The English and Dutch fleets worsted by the French in an engagement off Beachy Head.
manded at sea, having been joined by a Dutch squadron, sailed in quest of the enemy; but as the French king had received undoubted intelligence that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Russel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer, either in the channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular, secured the homeward bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the channel, and sailed along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: the *Coronation*, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-head: the *Harwich*, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks and perished: two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage: but the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the Commons subjected him to an inquiry: but when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution, out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the House took into consideration some

letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by King James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an insurrection in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England: Legge, Lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them: Crew absconded, but Lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preston was examined touching some ciphers which they could not explain, and pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and several acts\* passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the season with a short speech, thanking the Parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two Houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the Parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May, by proclamation.<sup>p</sup>

The king had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the presbyterians of Scotland, and was so displeased with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnston, who had been sent envoy to the Elector of Brandenburg, was recalled, and, with the Master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland: Melvil, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy-seal of that kingdom: Tweedale was

The king disoblige the presbyterians of Scotland.

\* The laws enacted in this session were these: an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from ~~new~~ offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer-stealing; an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices; an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for ascertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

<sup>p</sup> In the course of this session, Dr. Welwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded at the bar of the House of Commons, for having reflected upon that House in a weekly paper entitled *Mercurius Reformatus*; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period, Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the House of Commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy seal was committed to the Earl of Pembroke; Lord Viscount Sidney was created lord lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Somers appointed attorney-general; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the king as a divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

constituted lord chancellor: Crawford retained the office of president of the council; and Lothian was appointed high commissioner to the general assembly. The Parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to inflame the animosity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn: the presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the royal indulgence. They insisted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever sour, surly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelatists, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The king resented this measure, as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who, in their turn, began to lose all respect for his person and government.

As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the Earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans, being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the sum he had received; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity, on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation was Macdonald of Glencoe, whose opposition rose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty which regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses, from the

The Earl of Breadalbane undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders.

other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the close of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by Colonel Hill, governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyre. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir John Campbell, sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

Breadalbane had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and countersigned by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the Master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, this minister sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to

Massacre of  
Glencoe.

the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from Major Duncanson, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered, as friends, and promised, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell, having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity; nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately, to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cold blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hastened back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded: they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children; and, being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The Laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the Divine mercy.

The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes, so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of King William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders: but at the same time excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars

Burnet.  
Story.  
Kennet.  
Life of K.  
William.  
Nav. Hist.  
Ralph.  
Voltaire.

was published at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the Master of Stair from his employment of secretary: he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the Highlanders, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discon-

tent. King William having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the States-General with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the Papists of Lancashire despatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the spring; and that Colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the king's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy; he, therefore, exhorted them to be speedy and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of King William; but, before they could execute their design, his majesty set sail for Holland.

1692.  
Preparations for a descent upon England.

Declaration of King James.

Meanwhile, James addressed a letter to several lords who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and distinction, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son, and as Providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them,

in the name of his brother, the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labour.<sup>a</sup> This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the King of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to untie the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful king, and their ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be sent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so infatuated as to concur with the unnatural design of the Prince of Orange, he had chosen to rely upon the fidelity of his English army, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his Most Christian Majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects, who had been misled, and endeavoured to open their eyes, with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government; that when he saw himself deserted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of insolent foreigners, he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France; that his retreat from the malice and cruel designs of the usurper had been construed into an abdication, and the whole constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a set of men illegally assembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and, from the losses and enormous expense of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease; that the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability,

<sup>a</sup> The letter was directed not only to privy-counsellors, but also to the Duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the Marchioness of Halifax, the Countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby; the Ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville; those of Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Musgrave; the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford, lord-mayor of London, Sir William Ashhurst, and Sir Richard Levett, the sheriffs; and, lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.



be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to suffer severely by the tyranny they had raised; that even though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title would survive in his issue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only solicited but commanded his good subjects to join him, according to their duty and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. He promised pardon, and even rewards, to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure in his first Parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain persons,\* whom he now enumerated. He declared that all soldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and enlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, should be paid and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the Church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions: he signified his resolution to use his influence with the Parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the Christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by observing the act of navigation, which had been lately so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the navy in a flourishing condition; and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the Divine Will, declaring, that all who should reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved by their desperate and unreasonable opposition.

\* Those excepted were the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham; the Lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the Bishops of London and St. Asaph; Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimstone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet; Francis Russel, Richard Levison, John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizens of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fishermen; and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at Feversham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Ashton Cross, or any others who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies, or such as had betrayed his counsel during his late absence from England.

While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, Colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and in the bishopric of Durham: at the same time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Lloyd with an express to Lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over Rear-Admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the Count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Louis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Etrées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

The ministry of England was informed of all these particulars, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by Admiral Carter, who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached General Ptole-mache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all Papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both Houses of Parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons;

Efforts of  
his friends  
in England.

Precautions  
taken by  
the queen  
for the  
defence of  
the nation.

and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The Earls of Scarsdale, Lichfield, and Newburgh; the Lords Griffin, Forbes; Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the search. The Earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower: Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson were imprisoned in Newgate: the Bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the Lords Brudenel and Fanshaw were secured: the Earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The train-bands of London and Westminster were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person: Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruise along the French coast to observe the motions of the enemy.

On the eleventh day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, intimating that a report having been spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty had ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel, being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callenberg, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the Count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue squadron in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the

Admiral  
Russel puts  
to sea.

Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he despatched a countermanding order by two several vessels: but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down alongside of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when, his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the *Rising Sun*, which carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which Admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length the French bore away for Conquest-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's fore-topmast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet still continued the pursuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. Russel, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The *Rising Sun*, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burnt by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the *Admirable*, another first-rate, and the *Conquerant*, of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped

through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: it reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians allege, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered their consternation. They say his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend, the Earl of Marlborough; that he hated the Earl of Nottingham, by whose channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the letter rather than to the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plied from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind, through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and destroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ships: in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

Russel, having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch Admiral Callemberg, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors. She caused medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle,

Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a descent upon France.

to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, embarked on board transports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Brest, or Rochefort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral, having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports: but in a few days, the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

The queen immediately despatched the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was therefore laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained that they were plundered and abused; that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions; that, by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated; that their burdens would daily increase; that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connexions, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had suffered grievously by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the Admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French king, having nothing farther to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the presence of the archbishop

The design  
laid aside.  
The troops  
landed at  
Ostend.

of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other persons of distinction.

Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, attended by his women and parasites, his band of music, his dancers, his opera, and, in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege; under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The Prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that King William would make strong efforts for its relief; so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Brandenburg and Liege, advanced to the Meuse, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that the King of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban, their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered after a very obstinate defence; in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The citadel, being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault: on the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of King William,

The French king takes Namur in sight of King William.

who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken possession of the place, returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the Prince of Barbason incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

Luxembourg, having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bassiere, and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The King of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent, and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkerke and Enghien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose: but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembeck, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoix, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing that he need not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended the next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-fourth day of July the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The Prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry: he was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mackay. Though the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg, trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised; and it required the full

The allies  
are de-  
feated at  
Steenkerke.



exertion of his superior talents to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a severe indisposition under which he then laboured: he rallied his broken battalions; he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The Duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by Count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the allies. The Prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he sent an aide-du-camp twice, to demand succours from Solmes, who derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." At length, when the king sent an express order, commanding him to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act, while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, the same number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

The French, however, reaped no solid advantage from this victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the Prince of Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefond, Tilladet, and Fernacon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and, notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respect-

Extra-  
gant rejoic-  
ings in  
France on  
account of  
this victory.

able enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this unimportant victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes adopted the name of Steenkerke: every individual who had been personally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against King William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son, the Marquis de Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office of secretary, found among his papers the draft of a scheme for this purpose, and immediately revived the design, by means of the Chevalier de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the service. He and Colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate King William. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaster to the French army, were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged: the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of King James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection; but that unfortunate monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to seize the person of the Prince of Orange. Dumont actually enlisted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the King of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont, after the blow should be struck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with Grandval and Barbesieux. This last admitted

Conspiracy  
against the  
life of King  
William,  
hatched by  
the French  
ministry.

one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to Monsieur Chanlais, quartermaster-general of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward, and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for this assassin still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland, on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the design to the Duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars without enduring the torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

About this period the Duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; and reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Ptolemache. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and M. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk: but, on further deliberation, the enterprise was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by Brigadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured by strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops, returning to Ostend, re-embarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased the ill-humour of the British nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have passed the Scheldt higher up, and not only laid the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September, King William left the army under the command of the

Miscarriage  
of a design  
upon Dun-  
kirk.

Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Loo : in two days after his departure, the camp at Gramont was broken up ; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Caure. On the sixteenth day of October, the king, receiving intelligence that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be instantly re-assembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with design to raise the siege, and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. He then returned to Holland, leaving the command with the Elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The elector, having reinforced the place and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuse, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Eberemburg, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Eidelshheim, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard having invested Rhinefeld, the landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist and retreat with considerable damage. The Elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field ; but he complained that the emperor left the burden of the war with France upon the princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued : Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz, in Bohemia, was seized by the emperor's order, on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy, and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody ; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions,

The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary.

and the seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unsuccessful war: the visir was deposed; and in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the imperialists during the whole winter, surrendered on capitulation. Lord Paget, the English ambassador at Vienna, was sent to Constantinople with powers to mediate a peace: but the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the Porte: the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and the season was spent in a fruitless negotiation.

The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the pope The Duke of Savoy invades Dauphiné. to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the Duke of Savoy. M. Chanlais was sent to Turin, with advantageous proposals, which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself entitled to better terms, considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation: he afterwards laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here Duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of King William, inviting the people to join his standard, assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendour, their Parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and promised to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the Kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence, and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left

almost quite defenceless: but this was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of dissension which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the Duke of Savoy, who was seized with the small-pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, from his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated.\* In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

The Protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus, Duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connexions with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interests of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the King of England, whom he durst not disoblige. Leopold was blindly bigoted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation that would weaken the Catholic interest in the electoral college. He, therefore, employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some Protestant princes opposed him from motives of jealousy, and the French king used all his artifice and influence to prevent the elevation of the house of Hanover. When the duke had surmounted all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The emperor suggested that another popish electorate should be created, to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Austria should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the emperor with a

\* At this period Queen Mary, understanding that the Protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many schoolmasters, in the valleys of Piedmont.

double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negotiation, the Duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture, as Elector of Brunswick; created great marshal of the empire, and did homage to the emperor: nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the beginning of September the shock of an earthquake was felt in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port-Royal, in Jamaica, was almost totally ruined by an earthquake; the place was so suddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

## CHAPTER IV.

FALSE INFORMATION AGAINST THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH, THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, AND OTHERS. — SOURCES OF NATIONAL DISCONTENT. — DISSENSION BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND THE PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK. — THE HOUSE OF LORDS VINDICATE THEIR PRIVILEGES IN BEHALF OF THEIR IMPRISONED MEMBERS. — THE COMMONS PRESENT ADDRESSES TO THE KING AND QUEEN. — THEY ACQUIT ADMIRAL RUSSEL, AND RESOLVE TO ADVISE HIS MAJESTY. — THEY COMPLY WITH ALL THE DEMANDS OF THE MINISTRY. — THE LORDS PRESENT AN ADDRESS OF ADVICE TO THE KING. — DISPUTE BETWEEN THE LORDS AND COMMONS CONCERNING ADMIRAL RUSSEL. — THE COMMONS ADDRESS THE KING. — THEY ESTABLISH THE LAND-TAX AND OTHER IMPOSITIONS. — BURNET'S PASTORAL LETTER BURNED BY THE HANGMAN. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE LOWER HOUSE AGAINST THE PRACTICE OF KIDNAPPING MEN FOR THE SERVICE. — THE TWO HOUSES ADDRESS THE KING ON THE GRIEVANCES OF IRELAND. — AN ACCOUNT OF THE PLACE-BILL, AND THAT FOR TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS. — THE COMMONS PETITION HIS MAJESTY THAT HE WOULD DISSOLVE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. — TRIAL OF LORD MOHUN FOR MURDER. — ALTERATIONS IN THE MINISTRY. — THE KING REPAIRS TO THE CONTINENT, AND ASSEMBLES THE CONFEDERATE ARMY IN FLANDERS. — THE FRENCH REDUCE HUY. — LUXEMBOURG RESOLVES TO ATTACK THE ALLIES — WHO ARE DEFEATED AT LANDEN. — CHARLEBOY IS BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE ENEMY. — CAMPAIGN ON THE RHINE. — THE DUKE OF SAVOY IS DEFEATED BY CATINAT IN THE PLAIN OF MARRAGLIA. — TRANSACTIONS IN HUNGARY AND CATALONIA. — NAVAL AFFAIRS. — A FLEET OF MERCHANT SHIPS, UNDER CONVOY OF SIR GEORGE ROOKE, ATTACKED, AND PARTLY DESTROYED BY THE FRENCH SQUADRON. — WHEELER'S EXPEDITION TO THE WEST INDIES. — BENDOW BOMBARDS ST. MALOIS. — THE FRENCH KING HAS RECOURSE TO THE MEDIATION OF DENMARK. — SEVERITY OF THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE JACOBITES. — COMPLAINTS OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. — THE KING RETURNS TO ENGLAND, MAKES SOME CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY, AND OPENS THE SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. — BOTH HOUSES INQUIRE INTO THE MISCARRIAGES BY SEA. — THE COMMONS GRANT A VAST SUM FOR THE SERVICES OF THE ENSUING YEAR. — THE KING REJECTS THE BILL AGAINST FREE AND IMPARTIAL PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT; AND THE LOWER HOUSE REMONSTRATES ON THIS SUBJECT. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND. — THE EAST INDIA COMPANY OBTAIN A NEW CHARTER. — BILL FOR A GENERAL NATURALIZATION DROPPED. — SIR FRANCIS WHEELER PERISHES IN A STORM. — THE ENGLISH ATTEMPT TO MAKE A DESCENT IN CAMBRET-RAY, BUT ARE REPULED WITH LOSS. — THEY BOMBARD DIEPPE, HAVRE-DE-GRACE, DUNKIRK, AND CALAIS. — ADMIRAL RUSSEL SAILS FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN, RELIEVES BARCELONA, AND WINTERS AT CADEL. — CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS. — THE ALLIES REDUCE HUY. — THE PRINCE OF BADEN PASSES THE RHINE, BUT IS OBLIGED TO REPEASE THAT RIVER. — OPERATIONS IN HUNGARY. — PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH IN CATALONIA. — STATE OF THE WAR IN PIEDMONT. — THE KING RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — THE PARLIAMENT MEETS. — THE BILL FOR TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS RECEIVES THE ROYAL ASSENT. — DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP TILOTSON AND OF QUEEN MARY. — RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE KING AND THE PRINCESS OF DENMARK.

WHILE King William seemed wholly engrossed by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissension, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profaneness. Over and above the Jacobites, there was



a set of malecontents, whose number daily increased. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burdens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their sanguine expectations, that the queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by issuing out a proclamation, offering a reward to such as would discover seditious libellers. The Earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the scheme of an association in favour of King James, to which he affixed the names of the Earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the bishop's house, at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the king's messengers, who secured the prelate in consequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the whole council; and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The bishop obtained his release immediately, and the Earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of King's-Bench.

False information against the Earl of Marlborough, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.

So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign, upon the slightest suspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the habeas-corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies, as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure, exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connexions with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonstrated the mischiefs that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation.

Sources of national discontent.

They observed, that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their majesties possessed the throne; that the structure of Parliaments was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed entirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the subsequent act on that subject, passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by pressing transport ships into the service, without settling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burdensome and useless; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessaries, while the English laboured under the severest prohibitions, and were, in effect, the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, foresight, and intelligence, and inveighed against their ignorance, insolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a design of reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time, indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which, many concurring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented Revolutioners: these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other: so that patriotism was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention established a belief that every man consulted his own private interest at the expense of the public: a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in Parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the lowest borough-elect. The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expenses of government, threw large premiums and sums of money into the hands of low, sordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the

monied-interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but being destitute of sentiment and taste, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagancies. They laid aside all decorum; became lewd, insolent, intemperate, and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency, was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

King William, having ascertained the winter quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the ensuing campaign with the States-General and the ministers of the allies, set sail for England on the fifteenth day of October: on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, Disension between the queen and the Princess Anne of Denmark. was met by the queen at Newhall, and passed through the city of London to Kensington, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the Lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The lutestring company was established by patent, and the Parliament met on the fourth day of November. The House of Lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissension between the queen and her sister, the Princess of Denmark, which last underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away: all honours which had been paid to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided, and even by the ministers of the church where she attended at divine service, were discontinued by the express order of his majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the king, about an independent settlement; and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the Earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for they resented the disgrace and confinement of that lord, and thought it their duty to support the Princess Anne, under a persecution incurred by an attachment to his countess. The Earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the king: the Marquis of Halifax befriended him from opposition to the ministry: the Earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit.

Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the same cause from principle: the same pretence was used by the Earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other whigs, though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment against those by whom they had been supplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their assistance to promote any scheme that had a tendency to embroil the administration.

The king, in his speech to Parliament, thanked them for their last supplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at sea, condoled them on the bad success of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, represented the necessity of maintaining a great force to oppose it, and demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He expressed his reluctance to load them with additional burdens, which, he said, could not be avoided, without exposing his kingdom to inevitable destruction. He desired their advice towards lessening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a design of making a descent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make his subjects a happy people; and that he would again cheerfully expose his life for the welfare of the nation. The Lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to assert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the cases of the Earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to prison, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-Bench. These circumstances being fully discussed in a violent debate, the House ordered Lord Lucas, constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the King's-Bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded to prison. At the same time the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records. The judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined, touching the evidence against the committed lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole House, in which it was resolved and declared, as the sense of that assembly, that in pursuance of the habeas-corpus act, it was the duty of the

The House of Lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members.

judges and gaol-delivery to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, session, or general gaol-delivery. They likewise resolved it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned lords should be set at liberty. The contest became so warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice. The House adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month, and at its next meeting was given to understand, that the king had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing that the House being informed of his majesty's having given directions for discharging the lords under bail in the King's-Bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration.

The Commons, having voted an address of thanks, and another, praying that his majesty's foreign alliances should be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. They passed a vote of thanks to Admiral Russel, his officers, and seamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded to an inquiry, why that victory had not been pursued; why the descent had not been made; and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruisers. The admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the Admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers; and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they presented addresses to the king and queen, acknowledging the favour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and secret enemies; and

The Commons present addresses to the king and queen.

assuring him they would, according to his majesty's desire in his most gracious speech, be always ready to advise and assist him in the support of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his majesty's absence: they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her, that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

After this formal compliment, the House, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise, as well as to assist his majesty. Being indulged with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals, and particularly reflected upon the insolence of Count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkerke. After some warm altercation, the House resolved one article of their advice should be, that his majesty would be pleased to fill up the vacancies that should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions, and that the commander-in-chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, that many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the House should advise his majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy-council was jostled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the ministry: they observed, that he who opposed the establishment could not be expected to support it with zeal. The Earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name, and the House resolved that his majesty should be advised to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the Com-

They acquit  
Admiral  
Russel, and  
resolve to  
advise his  
majesty.

mons. His friend Russel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the House, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the House, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Russel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The House divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next sitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting money. They resolved that the House should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into consideration. Sir Francis Winington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the speaker resumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was dissolved. The House, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its sitting; but before it could resume its deliberations, Admiral Russel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purposes were defeated.

The court agents had by this time interposed, and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The Commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centred in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others

They comply with all the demands of the ministry.

agreed that the allies should be assisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as an auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would cheerfully contribute to the general expense. These reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Ministerial influence had surmounted all opposition. The House voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile complaisance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expense, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were so much altered, that instead of prosecuting their resentment against foreign generals, they assented to a motion that the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Major-Generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-General, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expenses attending the war upon the continent, including subsidies to the Electors of Saxony and Hanover.

The House of Lords, meanwhile, was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed, it was the province of their House to advise the sovereign: like the Commons, they insisted upon the king's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved, that the task of digesting the articles of advice should be undertaken by a joint committee of both houses: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's, were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and after much wrangling and declamation, the House agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his majesty that the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman: that English

The Lords present an address of advice to the king.



officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads: that the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English general: that the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied: that such officers as were guilty of this practice should be cashiered and punished: and, lastly, that no foreigners should sit at the board of ordnance. This address was presented to the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

Then the Lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the purposed descent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair; but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to screen Nottingham, and censure Russel. Dispute between the Lords and Commons concerning Admiral Russel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The House directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the Commons, at a conference, by the Lord-president, and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the Commons, as they concerned some members of that House, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the Commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the House, that they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: that, finding Mr. Russel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, that Admiral Russel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The Lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Russel, desired a free conference between the committees of both Houses. The Earl of Rochester told the Commons, he was commanded by the House of Lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the Lower House, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received,

and the reasons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to Colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the Commons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

The Lower House seemed to be as much exasperated against the Earl of Nottingham as the Lords were incensed at Russel. A motion was made that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of Admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was overruled, they voted an address to the king, praying that, for the future, all orders for the management of the fleet might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the Lower House. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value; as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it should not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East India company, estimated at seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's Bay company; and they empowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour.\*

\* The French king, hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, "My little cousin the Prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle—but, no matter, the last Louis d'or must carry it."

The money-bills were retarded in the Upper House by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malecontents. They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the Lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the Commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the Commons possessed of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by Parliament. When this report was debated in the House of Lords, the Earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the House, that by yielding to this claim of the Commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the Lords relinquished their clause, declaring, at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the House of Commons, against the pamphlet entitled, "*King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*," as containing assertions of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined, they resolved that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of Bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first asserted. The Lords, in order to manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, that such an assertion was highly injurious to their majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenser, was brought to the bar of the House, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the speaker.

Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the abuses

committed by press-masters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the house that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their inquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed were discharged by order of the House; and Captain Winter, the chief undertaker of this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the sergeant before the lord chief justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the House, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The Lords observed, that there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: that protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that Protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: that the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the provision made by Parliament: that a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the ancient privileges and charter: that several persons accused of murder had been executed without proof; and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The Commons spoke more freely in their address: they roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the Protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Irish Papists, who had been in open rebellion against his majesty; by granting protections to Irish Roman Catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped; by reversing outlawries for high treason, not comprehended in

Proceedings of the Lower House against the practice of kidnapping men for the service.

The two Houses address the king on the grievances of Ireland.

the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at an under value, to the prejudice of his majesty's revenue; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited estates, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the Papists, and weakened the Protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either House of Parliament: but no material step was taken against the Lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby, who appeared to have engrossed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown; and even Commissioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

The old whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the Lower House. The undue influence of the court was exerted in such an open, scandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the Commons. In the midst of all their condescension, Sir Edward Hussey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament. It was intended to disable all members of Parliament from enjoying places of trust and profit, and particularly levelled against the officers of the army and navy, who had insinuated themselves into the house in such numbers, that this was commonly called the officers' Parliament. The bill passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, by whom it was read a second time, and committed: but the ministry employing their whole strength against it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The Earl of Mulgrave again distinguished himself by his elocution, in a speech that was held in great veneration by the people; and among those who entered a protest in the journals of the House, when the majority rejected the bill, was Prince George of Denmark, Duke of Cumberland. The court had not recollected themselves from the consternation produced by such a vigorous opposition, when the Earl of Shrewsbury produced another bill for triennial Parliaments, providing that there should be an annual session; that if, at

An account  
of the  
place-bill,  
and that for  
triennial  
Parliaments.

the expiration of three years, the crown should not order the writs to be issued, the lord chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal, should issue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act, under severe penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the dissolution of the present Parliament, which had already sat three sessions, and began to be formidable to the people from its concessions to the ministry. The benefits that would accrue to the constitution from the establishment of triennial Parliaments were very well understood, as these points had been frequently discussed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the freeholders proud and insolent, encourage faction among the electors, and entail a continual expense upon the member, as he would find himself obliged, during the whole time of his sitting, to behave like a candidate, conscious how soon the time of election would revolve. In spite of the ministerial interest in the Upper House, the bill passed, and contained a proviso, that the present Parliament should not continue any longer than the month of January next ensuing. The court renewed its efforts against it in the House of Commons, where, nevertheless, it was carried, with some little alterations, which the Lords approved. But all these endeavours were frustrated by the prerogative of the king, who, by refusing his assent, prevented its being enacted into a law.

It was at the instigation of the ministry, that the Commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring, or expired. Among these was an act for restraining the liberty of the press, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the first year of the succeeding reign. The bill passed the Lower House without difficulty, but met with warm opposition in the House of Lords; a good number of whom protested against it, as a law that subjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and, perhaps, ignorant licenser, destroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preservation of their majesties' sacred persons and government: but this too was rejected by the majority, in consequence of the ministry's secret management. The East India company narrowly escaped dissolu-

The Commons petition his majesty that he would dissolve the East India company.

An. 1693.

tion. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the House of Commons: the pretensions on both sides were carefully examined: a committee of the whole House resolved that there should be a new subscription of a joint-stock, not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The report was made and received, and the public expected to see the affair brought to a speedy issue: but the company had recourse to the same expedients, which had lately proved so successful in the hands of the ministry. Those who had been the most warm in detecting their abuses suddenly cooled; and the prosecution of the affair began to languish. Not but that the House presented an address to his majesty, praying that he would dissolve the company upon three years' warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would consider their address; and they did not further urge their remonstrance. The bill for ascertaining the commissions and salaries of the judges, to which the king had refused the royal assent in the last session, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they suffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March, the king put an end to the session, after having thanked the Parliament for so great testimonies of their affection, and promised the supplies should not be misapplied. He observed, that the posture of affairs called him abroad; but that he would leave a sufficient number of troops for the security of the kingdom: he assured them he would expose his person upon all occasions for the advantage of these kingdoms; and use his utmost endeavours to make them a flourishing nation.<sup>b</sup>

During the course of this session, Lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in Westminster-hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montford, a celebrated come-

<sup>b</sup> The other laws made in this session were those that follow:—An Act for preventing suits against such as had acted for their majesties' service in defence of this kingdom—An Act for raising the militia in the year 1693—An Act authorizing the judges to empower such persons, other than common attorneys and solicitors, as they should think fit, to take special bail, except in London, Westminster, and ten miles round—An Act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen—An Act for preventing clandestine marriages—An Act for the regaining, encouraging, and settling the Greenland trade—An Act to prevent malicious informations in the court of King's-Bench, and for the more easy reversal of outlawries in that court—An Act for the better discovery of judgments in the courts of law—An Act for delivering declarations to prisoners for debt—An Act for regulating proceedings in the Crown-office—An Act for the more easy discovery and conviction of such as should destroy the game of this kingdom—And an Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers.

dian, the Marquis of Caermarthen acting as lord-steward upon this occasion. The judges having been consulted, the Peers proceeded to give their judgments *seriatim*, and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the whigs and tories, by mingling them together in his ministry, made some alterations at this period that savoured of the same policy. The great seal, with the title of lord-keeper, was bestowed upon Sir John Somers, who was well skilled in the law, as in many other branches of polite and useful literature. He possessed a remarkable talent for business, in which he exerted great patience and assiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable; a whig in principles, yet moderate, pacific, and conciliating. Of the same temper was Sir John Trenchard, now appointed secretary of state. He had been concerned with the Duke of Monmouth, and escaped to the continent, where he lived some years; was calm, sedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and considered as a leading man in his party. These two are said to have been promoted at the recommendation of the Earl of Sunderland, who had by this time insinuated himself into the king's favour and confidence; though his success confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old master. The leaders of the opposition were Sir Edward Seymour, again become a malecontent, and Sir Christopher Musgrave, a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant tory from principle, had refused to concur with all the designs of the late king. He was a person of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the ministry, which he opposed with great violence: yet on some critical occasions, his patriotism gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up some important points, in consideration of large sums which he received from the court in secret. Others declared war against the administration, because they thought their own talents were not sufficiently considered. Of these the chief were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The first was a lawyer of good capacity, extensive learning, and virtuous principles, but peevish, obstinate, and morose. He entertained a very despicable opinion of the court; and this he propagated with equal assiduity and success. Harley

Trial of  
Lord Mo-  
hun for  
murder.  
Alterations  
in the min-  
istry.

Burnet.  
History of  
K. W.  
Burchet.  
Lives of  
the Admi-  
rals.  
Stone's Nar.  
Fouquieres,  
Voltaire,  
Ralph.  
Tindal.  
State  
Tracts.



possessed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politics. He knew the forms of Parliament, had a particular dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cherished the most aspiring ambition. Admiral Russel was created treasurer of the household; but the command of the fleet was vested in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rooke was declared vice-admiral of the red, and Lord John Berkeley, of the blue division; their rear-admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

The king, having visited the fleet and fortifications at Portsmouth, given instructions for annoying the enemy by sea, and left the administration in the hands of the queen, embarked on the last day of March, near Gravesend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the confederates were forthwith ordered to assemble: but while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French king actually took the field, attended by Madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His design was supposed to be upon some town in Brabant: his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand men, completely armed, and abundantly supplied with all necessaries for every sort of military operation. King William immediately took possession of the strong camp at Parke, near Louvain, a situation which enabled him to cover the places that were most exposed. Understanding that the French emissaries had sown the seeds of dissension between the bishop and chapter of Liege, he sent the Duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert measures for the further security of the place. He reinforced the garrison with nine battalions; and the Elector Palatine lay with his troops in readiness to march to its relief. William likewise threw reinforcements into Maestricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himself resolved to remain on the defensive, at the head of sixty thousand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

The king repairs to the continent, and assembles the confederate army in Flanders.

Louis having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and seen his designs upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagonist, detached Boufflers with twenty thousand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the dauphin, who commanded in that quarter; then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the Duke of Luxembourg,

The French reduce Huy.

he returned with his court to Versailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his head-quarters at Mildert; and King William strengthened his camp on that side with ten battalions, and eight-and-twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently surprised by detachments from the garrison of Charleroy; and a large body of horse, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Liege and Maestricht, took post at Huy, under the command of the Count de Tilly, so as to straiten the French in their quarters. These, however, were dislodged by Luxembourg in person, who obliged the count to pass the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three squadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was balanced by the success of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty squadrons of horse, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys; and laid the whole country as far as Lisle under contribution. On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning invested by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the siege, and secured himself from the allies by lines of contravallation. Before the batteries began to play, the town capitulated. On the twenty-third day of the month, the garrison mutinied; the castles were surrendered; the governor remained a prisoner; and his men were conducted to Liege. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town; but the king, being apprised of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garrison of Liege, and next day returned to Neer-Hespen.

Luxembourg made a motion towards Liege, as if he had intended to besiege the place; and encamped at Hel-  
 leheim, about seven leagues from the confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the  
 different detachments which had been made from  
 their army, he resolved to attack them in their camp, or at  
 least fall upon their rear, should they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July he began his march in four columns, and passed the Jaar near its source with an army superior to the allies by five-and-thirty thousand men. The King of England at first looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the design upon Liege; but receiving intelligence that the whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he resolved to keep his ground; and immedi-

Luxem-  
 bourg re-  
 solves to  
 attack the  
 allies;

ately drew up his forces in order of battle. His general officers advised him to repass the Geete; but he chose to risk a battle, rather than expose the rear of his army in repassing that river. His right wing extended as far as Neer-Winden, along the Geete, covered with hedges, hollow ways, and a small rivulet; the left reached to Neer-Landen; and these two villages were joined by a slight entrenchment, which the king ordered to be thrown up in the evening. Brigadier Ramsay, with the regiments of O'Farrel, Mackay, Lauder, Leven, and Monroe, were ordered to the right of the whole army, to line some hedges and hollow ways on the farther side of the village of Lare. Six battalions of Brandenburg were posted to the left of this village; and General Dumont, with the Hanoverian infantry, possessed the village of Neer-Winden, which covered part of the camp, between the main body and the right wing of the cavalry. Neer-Landen, on the left, was secured by six battalions of English, Danes, and Dutch. The remaining infantry was drawn up in one line behind the entrenchment. The dragoons upon the left guarded the village of Dormal upon the brook of Beck; and from thence the left wing of horse extended to Neer-Landen, where it was covered by this rivulet.

The king having visited all the posts on horseback, and given the necessary orders, reposed himself about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning sent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At sunrising the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the allies began to play their cannon with good success. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themselves masters of these posts, from whence they were as often repulsed. The allies still kept their ground; and the Duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle Brigadier Churchill. Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the confederates at Neer-Landen; and, after a very obstinate dispute, were obliged to give way, though they still kept possession of the avenues. The Prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the confederates, being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part exposed. Villeroy, marching this way with a body of horse, was encountered and repulsed by the Count d'Arco, general of the Bavarian cuirassiers; and the Duke de Chartres

who are  
defeated at  
Landen.

narrowly escaped being taken. Meanwhile Luxembourg, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Marsin, and the Marshal de Joyeuse, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with such impetuosity as surmounted all resistance. The camp of the confederates was immediately filled with French troops: the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden were taken, after a long and desperate dispute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horse being broken, the king in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry; and for some time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry were rallied, and stood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were scarce able to sustain the weight of such a superiority in point of number, when the Marquis d'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two-and-twenty fresh squadrons, which immediately turned the scale in their favour. The Elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other side of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favour the retreat of those who had not passed. The king, seeing the battle lost, and the whole army in confusion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were posted, and then ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway, to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Haspen, which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was tumult, rout, and consternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw themselves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave Earl of Athlone; the Duke of Ormond was wounded in several places, and taken prisoner by the enemy; and the Count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Ptolemache brought off the greater part of the English infantry with great gallantry and conduct: as for the baggage, it had been sent to Liege before the engagement: but the confederates lost sixty pieces of cannon and nine mortars, a great number of standards and colours,\* with about seven thousand men killed and wounded in the action. It must be owned that the allies fought with great valour and perseverance; and that King William made prodigious efforts of courage and

\* The Duke of Luxembourg sent such a number of standards and ensigns to Paris, during the course of this war, that the Prince of Conti called him the Upholsterer of Notre Dame, a church in which those trophies were displayed.

activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person both on horseback and on foot, where the danger was most imminent. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf, were penetrated by three different musket-bullets; and he saw a great number of soldiers fall on every side of him. The enemy bore witness to his extraordinary valour. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to his princess, which was intercepted, declared that he saw the Prince of Orange exposing himself to the greatest dangers; and that such valour richly deserved the peaceable possession of the crown he wore. Yet here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and disposition were severely censured. Luxembourg, having observed the nature of his situation immediately before the engagement, is said to have exclaimed, "Now, I believe Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that general's known sagacity in choosing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loss in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no solid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and drafting troops from Liege and other garrisons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement.

Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg, being rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement from the Rhine, invested Charleroy. He had taken his measures with such caution and dexterity, that the allies could not frustrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great disadvantage. The king detached the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons, to make a diversion in Flanders; but they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of consequence. The garrison of Charleroy defended the place with surprising valour, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulsed the assailants in several attacks; but at length, despairing of relief, the governor capitulated on the most honourable conditions: the reduction of the place was celebrated with a *Te Deum*, and other rejoicings, at Paris. Louis, however, in the midst of all his glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the

Charleroy  
is besieged  
and taken  
by the  
enemy.

little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The allies had been defeated successively at Fleurus, Steenkerke, and Landen; yet in a fortnight after each of those battles, William was always in a condition to risk another engagement. Formerly, Louis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comté, without a battle; whereas now, he could not with his utmost efforts, and after the most signal victories, pass the frontiers of the United Provinces. The conquest of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter-quarters.

The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, passed that river in the month of May at Philipsburgh, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed numberless barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even sparing the tombs of the dead. The French soldiers, on this occasion, seem to have been actuated by the most brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, and murdered the priests at the altar. They broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes of that illustrious family about the streets. They set fire to different quarters of the city; they stripped about fifteen thousand of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate, and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were set at liberty, in consequence of the forts being surrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguish, and despair. These enormous cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of a Tartarian freebooter, were acted by the express command of Louis XIV. of France, who has been celebrated by so many venal pens, not only as the greatest monarch, but also as the most polished prince of Christendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar against the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other side of that river; but in attempting to pass, he was twice repulsed with considerable damage. The dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to seventy thousand men, crossed

Campaign  
on the  
Rhine. The  
Duke of  
Savoy is  
defeated by  
Catinat in  
the plain of  
Marsaglia.

without opposition ; but found the Germans so advantageously posted, that he would not hazard an attack ; having, therefore, repassed the river, he secured Stutgard with a garrison, sent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in August to Versailles. In Piedmont the allies were still more unfortunate. The Duke of Savoy and his confederates seemed bent upon driving the French from Casal and Pignerol. The first of these places was blocked up, and the other actually invested. The fort of St. Bridget, that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Meanwhile Catinat, being reinforced, descended into the plains. The duke was so apprehensive of Turin, that he abandoned the siege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and marched in quest of the enemy to the plain of Marsaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbasson and Prosasque ; and a desperate engagement ensued. The enemy charged the left wing of the confederates sword in hand with incredible fury : though they were once repulsed, they renewed the attack with such impetuosity, that the Neapolitan and Milanese horse were obliged to give way, and disordered the German cavalry. These falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confusion. Meanwhile, the main body and the other wing sustained the charge without flinching, until they were exposed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry ; then the whole front gave way. In vain the second line was brought up to sustain them : the horse turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thousand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The Duke of Schomberg, having been denied the post which was his due, insisted upon fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the King of Great Britain, who were posted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the Count de los Torres desired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and the right wing ; but he refused to act without the order of his highness, and said, things were come to such a pass, that they must either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a shot in the thigh. His valet, seeing him fall, ran to his assistance, and called

for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be understood. The duke being taken at the same instant, was afterwards dismissed upon his parole, and in a few days died at Turin, universally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The Earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, shared his fate in being wounded and taken prisoner: but he soon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unsubstantial as that of Landen, and almost as dear in the purchase; for the confederates made an obstinate defence, and yielded solely to superior numbers. The Duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to besiege, so severely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented himself with laying the country under contribution, reinforcing the garrisons of Casal, Pignerol, and Susa, and making preparations for repassing the mountains. The news of the victory no sooner reached Paris, than Louis despatched, M. de Chanlais to Turin, with proposals for detaching the Duke of Savoy from the interest of the allies; and the pope, who was now become a partisan of France, supported the negotiation with his whole influence: but the French king had not yet touched upon the right string. The duke continued deaf to all his addresses.

France had been alike successful in her intrigues at the courts of Rome and Constantinople. The visir at the Porte had been converted into a pensionary and creature of Louis; but the war in which the Turks had been so long and unsuccessfully engaged rendered him so odious to the people, that the grand signor deposed him, in order to appease their clamours. The English and Dutch ambassadors at Constantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the emperor; but the terms they proposed were still rejected with disdain. In the mean time, General Heusler, who commanded the imperialists in Transylvania, reduced the fortresses of Jeno and Villaguswar. In the beginning of July the Duc de Croy assumed the chief command of the German army, passed the Danube and the Saave, and invested Belgrade. The siege was carried on for some time with great vigour; but, at length, abandoned at the approach of the visir, who obliged the imperialists to repass the Saave, and sent out parties which made incursions into Upper Hungary. The

Transac-  
tions in  
Hungary  
and Cata-  
lonia.



power of France had never been so conspicuous as at this juncture, when she maintained a formidable navy at sea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Exclusive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the Count de Noailles invested Roses in Catalonia, about the latter end of May, while at the same time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the Count d'Etrées. In a few days the place was surrendered by capitulation, and the castle of Ampurias met with the same fate. The Spanish power was reduced to such a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conquests without interruption, had not he been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont.

Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of this summer. <sup>Naval</sup> The king had ordered the admirals to use all pos- <sup>affairs.</sup> sible despatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprise was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake some expedition of importance; but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malecontents in England. Louis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war; he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of seventy-one capital ships, besides bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets sailed down the channel. On the sixth, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straits with a squadron of three-and-twenty ships as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The grand fleet returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the sixteenth, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty sail. Sixteen of these plied up to the English squadron, while the vice-admiral of the white stood off to sea, to intercept the ships under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes, resolved, if possible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their absolute ruin. He forthwith sent orders to the small ships that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himself stood off with an easy sail for the protection of the rest. About six in the evening, ten sail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ships of war, commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who, seeing no possibility of escaping, tacked in shore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to save the rest of the fleet. When attacked, they made a most desperate defence, but at last were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An English ship of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant vessels were taken, and about fifty destroyed, by the Counts de Tourville and d'Etrées. Seven of the largest Smyrna ships fell into the hands of M. de Coetlegon, and four he sunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loss sustained on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Meanwhile Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the nineteenth sent home the Lark ship of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland, and on the third day of August arrived at Cork, with fifty sail, including ships of war and trading vessels. He detached Captain Fairborne to Kinsale, with all his squadron, except six ships of the line, with which, in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of August they returned

A fleet of merchant ships, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons.

to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ships of the line, and two frigates, set sail for Holland; and twenty-six sail, with seven fire-ships, were assigned as guard-ships during the winter.

The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicante, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West Indies. In conjunction with Colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward Islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England, and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the course of this voyage.

Wheeler's  
expedition  
to the West  
Indies.

In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Maloes, and, anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then his men landed on an island, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth they took the advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship of a particular contrivance, styled the Infernal, in order to burn the town: but she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, and broke all the glass and earthenware for three leagues round. A capstan that weighed two hundred pounds was transported

Benbow  
bombards  
St. Maloes.

into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground: the greatest part of the wall towards the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors took and demolished Quince-fort, and did considerable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They scrupled not to say, that the counsels of the nation were betrayed; and their suspicions rose even to the secretary's office. They observed, that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and took their measures accordingly for their destruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that seemed to justify their suspicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, arose from a motley ministry, divided among themselves, who, instead of acting in concert for the public good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed against the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the queen, and, from their hatred to the whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to

The French king has recourse to the mediation of Denmark.

engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to King William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions: but the terms were rejected by the King of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified, and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burdens.

The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of King James had been couched in such imperious terms as Severity of the government against the Jacobites. gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another, which contained the promise of a general pardon without exception, and every other concession that a British subject could demand of his sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for dispersing copies of this paper, tried at the Old Bailey, found guilty of not only dispersing, but also of composing a false and seditious libel, sentenced to pay five hundred marks apiece, to stand three times in the pillory, and find sureties for their good behaviour. But no circumstance reflected more disgrace on this reign than the fate of Anderton, the supposed printer of some tracts against the government. He was brought to trial for high treason: he made a vigorous defence, in spite of the insults and discouragement he sustained from a partial bench. As nothing but presumptions appeared against him, the jury scrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourse was had to the queen's mercy: he suffered death at Tyburn; and left a paper, protesting solemnly against the proceedings of the court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning Heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The severity of the government was likewise exemplified in the case of some adventurers, who, having equipped privateers to cruise upon the English, under joint commissions from the late King James and Louis XIV., happened to be taken by the English ships of war. Dr. Oldys, the king's advocate, being commanded to proceed against them as guilty of

treason and piracy, refused to commence the prosecution : and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He supported this opinion by arguments before the council : these were answered by Dr. Littleton, who succeeded him in the office from which he was dismissed ; and the prisoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort those arts upon the government, which their adversaries had so successfully practised in the late reign. They inveighed against the vindictive spirit of the administration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and false witnesses—a charge for which there was too much foundation.

The friends of James in Scotland still continued to concert designs in his favour ; but their correspondence was detected, and their aims defeated, by the vigilance of the ministry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnston not only kept a watchful eye over all their transactions, but by a dexterous management of court liberality and favour, appeased the discontents of the presbyterians so effectually, that the king ran no risk in assembling the Parliament. Some offices were bestowed upon the leaders of the kirk party ; and the Duke of Hamilton, being reconciled to the government, was appointed commissioner. On the eighteenth day of April the session was opened, and the king's letter, replete with the most cajoling expressions, being read, the Parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable specimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate answer to his majesty's letter : they voted an addition of six new regiments to the standing forces of the kingdom : they granted a supply of above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling to his majesty : they enacted a law for levying men to serve on board the royal navy : they fined all absentees, whether Lords or Commons ; and vacated the seats of all those commissioners who refused to take the oath of assurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of King James : they set on foot an inquiry about an intended invasion : they published some intercepted letters, supposed to be written to King James by Neville Payne, whom they committed to prison, and threatened with a trial for high treason ; but he eluded the danger, by threatening in his turn to impeach those who had made their peace with the government : they passed an act for the comprehension of such of the episcopal clergy as should condescend to take the oaths

Complaisance of the Scottish Parliament.

by the tenth day of July. All that the general assembly required of them was an offer to subscribe the confession of faith, and to acknowledge presbytery as the only government of the Scottish church; but they neither submitted to these terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time, so that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheless, they continued in possession, and even received private assurances of the king's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domestic enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the presbyterians, and former distractions began to revive.

The king, having prevailed upon the States-General to augment their land forces and navy for the service of the ensuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kensington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and discontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of state mismanaged, and the ministers recriminating upon one another, he perceived the necessity of changing hands, and resolved to take his measures accordingly. Sunderland, his chief counsellor, represented that the tories were averse to the continuance of a war which had been productive of nothing but damage and disgrace; whereas the whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invasion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the crown, and partly from the prospect of advantage, in advancing money to the government on the funds established by Parliament: for that sort of traffic which obtained the appellation of the monied-interest was altogether a whiggish institution. The king revolved these observations in his own mind; and, in the mean time, the Parliament met on the seventh day of November, pursuant to the last prorogation. In his speech, he expressed his resentment against those who were the authors of the miscarriages at sea; represented the necessity of increasing the land forces and the navy; and demanded a suitable supply for these purposes. In order to pave the way to their condescension, he had already dismissed from his council the Earl of Nottingham, who, of all his ministers, was the most odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the Earl of Shrewsbury; but that nobleman, suspecting this was a change of

The king returns to England, makes some changes in the ministry, and opens the session of Parliament.

men rather than of measures, stood aloof for some time, until he received such assurances from the king as quieted his scruples, and then he accepted the office of secretary. The lieutenancy for the city of London, and all other commissions over England, were altered with a view to favour the whig interest; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of trust and profit: but the tories were too powerful in the House of Commons to be exasperated, and therefore a good number of them were retained in office.

On the sixth day of the session, the Commons unanimously resolved to support their majesties and their government; to inquire into miscarriages; and to consider of means for preserving the trade of the nation. The Turkey Company were summoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the commissioners of the Admiralty for convoy: Lord Falkland, who sat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions sent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits' fleet, together with a list of all the ships at that time in commission. It appeared, in the course of this inquiry, that the miscarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great measure owing to the misconduct of the admirals, and neglect of the victualling-office; but they were screened by a majority. Mr. Harley, one of the commissioners for taking and stating the public accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation against Lord Falkland. Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquisites of the navy, confessed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the accounts; and, in particular, that he had paid four thousand pounds to Lord Falkland, by his majesty's order. This lord had acknowledged before the commissioners, that he had paid one-half of the sum, by the king's order, to a person who was not a member of either House; and that the remainder was still in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman, desiring to see it, detained the voucher; a circumstance that incensed the commons to such a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but was at last overruled by the majority. Nevertheless, they agreed to make him sensible of their displeasure, and he was reprimanded in his place.

Both  
Houses in-  
quire into  
the miscar-  
riages by  
sea.



The House of Lords having also inquired into the causes of the miscarriages at sea, very violent debates arose, and at length the majority resolved, that the admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the whig lords who had so eagerly prosecuted the affair, and now protested against the resolution, not without great appearance of reason. The next step of the Lords was to exculpate the Earl of Nottingham, as the blame seemed to lie with him, on the supposition that the admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the whiggish secretary, the earl gave the House to understand, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing a list of the enemy's fleet, and the time of their sailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly imparted to Secretary Trenchard, whose province it was to transmit instructions to the admirals. Two conferences passed on this subject between the Lords and Commons. Trenchard delivered in his defence in writing; and was in his turn screened by the whole efforts of the ministry, in which the whig influence now predominated. Thus an inquiry of such national consequence, which took its rise from the king's own expression of resentment against the delinquents, was stifled by the arts of the court, because it was likely to affect one of its creatures; for, though there was no premeditated treachery in the case, the interest of the public was certainly sacrificed to the mutual animosity of the ministers. The charge of Lord Falkland being resumed in the House of Commons, he appeared to have begged and received of the king the remaining two thousand pounds of the money which had been paid by Rainsford; he was therefore declared guilty of a high misdemeanour and breach of trust, and committed to the Tower; from whence, however, he was in two days discharged upon his petition.

Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, presented to the House a state of the receipts and issues of the revenue, together with two reports from the commissioners of accounts concerning sums issued for secret services, and to members of Parliament. This was a discovery of the most scandalous practices in the mystery of corruption, equally exercised on the individuals of both parties, in occasional bounties, grants, places, pensions, equivalents, and additional salaries. The malecontents, there-

The Commons grant a vast sum for the services of the ensuing year.

fore, justly observed, the House of Commons was so managed that the king could baffle any bill, quash all grievances, stifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the Commons took into consideration the estimates and supplies of the ensuing year, the king demanded forty thousand men for the navy, and above one hundred thousand for the purposes of the land service. Before the House considered these enormous demands, they granted four hundred thousand pounds by way of advance, to quiet the clamours of the seamen, who were become mutinous and desperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then the Commons voted the number of men required for the navy; but they were so ashamed of that for the army, that they thought it necessary to act in such a manner as should imply that they still retained some regard for their country. They called for all the treaties subsisting between the king and his allies: they examined the different proportions of the troops furnished by the respective powers: they considered the intended augmentations, and fixed the establishment of the year at four-score and three thousand one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of these they allotted the sum of two millions five hundred and thirty thousand five hundred and ninety pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll-bills; so that the supplies for the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raised by a land-tax of four shillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a further excise on beer, a new duty on salt, and a lottery.

Though the malecontents in Parliament could not withstand this torrent of profusion, they endeavoured to distress the court-interest, by reviving the popular bills of the preceding session; such as that for regulating trials in cases of high treason, the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in Parliament. The first was neglected in the House of Lords; the second was rejected; the third was passed by the Commons, on the supposition that it would be defeated in the other House. The Lords returned it with certain amendments, to which the Commons would not agree; a conference ensued; the

The king rejects the bill against free and impartial proceedings in Parliament, and the Lower House remonstrates on this subject.

Peers receded from their corrections, and passed the bill, to which the king, however, refused his assent. Nothing could be more unpopular and dangerous than such a step at this juncture. The Commons, in order to recover some credit with the people, determined to disapprove of his majesty's conduct. The House formed itself into a committee, to take the state of the kingdom into consideration. They resolved that whoever advised the king to refuse the royal assent to that bill was an enemy to their majesties and the kingdom. They likewise presented an address, expressing their concern that he had not given his consent to the bill, and beseeching his majesty to hearken for the future to the advice of his Parliament, rather than to the counsels of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from those of his majesty and his people. The king thanked them for their zeal, professed a warm regard for their constitution, and assured them he would look upon all parties as enemies, who should endeavour to lessen the confidence subsisting between the sovereign and people. The members in the opposition were not at all satisfied with this general reply. A day being appointed to take it into consideration, a warm debate was maintained with equal eloquence and acrimony. At length the question being put, that an address should be made for a more explicit answer, it was passed in the negative by a great majority.

The city of London petitioned that a parliamentary provision might be made for the orphans, whose fortunes they had scandalously squandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding session, and rejected with disdain, as an imposition on the public; but now those scruples were removed, and the House passed a bill for this purpose, consisting of many clauses, extending to different charges on the city lands, aqueducts, and personal estates; imposing duties on binding apprentices, constituting freemen, as also upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March these bills received the royal assent; and the king took that opportunity of recommending despatch, as the season of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The scheme of a national bank, like those of Amsterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the ministry as an excellent institution, as well for the credit and security of the government,

as for the increase of trade and circulation. One project was invented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, proposing the circulation of tickets on land security; but William Paterson was author of that which was carried into execution by the interest of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The scheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants subscribed to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds, as a fund of ready money, to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the same interest. When it was properly digested in the cabinet, and a majority in Parliament secured for its reception, the undertakers for the court introduced it into the House of Commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from such a measure. They said it would rescue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and usurers, lower interest, raise the value of land, revive and establish public credit, extend circulation, consequently improve commerce, facilitate the annual supplies, and connect the people the more closely with the government. The project was violently opposed by a strong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engross the whole money of the kingdom; that, as it must infallibly be subservient to government views, it might be employed to the worst purposes of arbitrary power; that, instead of assisting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in stock-jobbing; that it would produce a swarm of brokers and jobbers, to prey upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithstanding these objections, the bill made its way through the two Houses, establishing the funds for the security and advantage of the subscribers; empowering their majesties to incorporate them by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under a proviso, that at any time after the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve hundred thousand pounds, the said corporation should cease and determine. The bill likewise contained clauses of appropriation for the service of the public. The whole subscription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the court of directors completed the payment before the expira-

tion of the time prescribed by the act, although they did not call in more than seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds of the money subscribed. All these funds proving inadequate to the estimates, the Commons brought in a bill to impose stamp duties upon all vellum, parchment, and paper, used in almost every kind of intercourse between man and man; and they crowned the oppression of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licensing and regulating hackney and stage-coaches.

The Commons, in a clause of the bill for taxing several joint-stocks, provided, that in case of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company so failing should be deemed void and forfeited. The East India Com-  
The East India Company obtain a new charter.  
 pany actually neglected their payment, and the public imagined the ministry would seize this opportunity of dissolving a monopoly against which so many complaints had been made; but the directors understood their own strength; and instead of being broken, obtained the promise of a new charter. This was no sooner known, than the controversy between them and their adversaries was revived with such animosity, that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no resolution, the merchants who opposed the company petitioned, that, in the mean while, the new charter might be suspended. Addresses of the same kind were presented by a great number of clothiers, linen-drappers, and other dealers. To these a written answer was published by the company: the merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the company had been guilty of unjust and unwarrantable actions, tending to the scandal of religion, the dishonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppression of the people, and the ruin of trade. They observed, that two private ships had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the company had exported in three years. They offered to send more cloth and English merchandise to the Indies in one year than the company had exported in five; to furnish the government with five hundred tons of saltpetre for less than one-half of the usual price; and they represented, that the company could neither lade the ships they petitioned for in England, nor relade them in the East Indies. In spite of all these remonstrances, the new charter passed the great seal; though the grants contained in it

were limited in such a manner, that they did not amount to an exclusive privilege, and subjected the company to such alterations, restrictions, and qualifications, as the king should direct before the twenty-ninth day of September. This indulgence, and other favours granted to the company, were privately purchased of the ministry, and became productive of a loud outcry against the government. The merchants published a journal of the whole transaction, and petitioned the House of Commons that their liberty of trading to the East Indies might be confirmed by Parliament. Another petition was presented by the company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary sanction. Both parties employed all their address in making private application to the members. The House having examined the different charters, the book of their new subscriptions, and every particular relating to the company, resolved that all the subjects of England had an equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by act of Parliament.

But nothing engrossed the attention of the public more than a bill which was brought into the House for a general naturalization of all foreign Protestants. The advocates for this measure alleged, that great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated; that the strength of a nation consisted in the number of inhabitants; that the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary supply; that a great number of Protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures; that the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had already settled in the kingdom. They had introduced several new branches of manufacture, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour; a circumstance of the utmost importance to trade, oppressed as it was with taxes, and exposed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, that it would cheapen the birthright of Englishmen; that the want of culture was owing to the oppression of the times; that foreigners, being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expense of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country; that the reduction in the price of labour would be a national grievance,

Bill for a  
general  
naturali-  
zation  
dropped.

while many thousands of English manufacturers were starving for want of employment, and the price of provisions continued so high, that even those who were employed could scarce supply their families with bread : that the real design of the bill was to make such an accession to the dissenters, as would render them an equal match in the body-politic for those of the church of England ; to create a greater dependence on the crown ; and, in a word, to supply a foreign head with foreign members. Sir John Knight, a member of the House, in a speech upon this subject, exaggerated the bad consequences that would attend such a bill, with all the wit and virulence of satire : it was printed and dispersed through the kingdom, and raised such a flame among the people as had not appeared since the Revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become lord-danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government ; and they extolled Sir John Knight as the saviour of the nation. The courtiers, incensed at the progress of this clamour, complained in the House of the speech which had been printed ; and Sir John was threatened with expulsion and imprisonment. He, therefore, thought proper to disown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This sacrifice served only to increase the popular disturbance, which rose to such a height of violence, that the court-party began to tremble ; and the bill was dropped for the present.

Burnet.  
Fouquieres.  
Life of K.  
William.  
Tindal.  
State  
Tracts.  
Ralph.  
Voltaire.

Lord Coningsby and Mr. Porter had committed the most flagrant acts of oppression in Ireland. These had been explained during the last session by the gentlemen who appealed against the administration of Lord Sidney ; but they were screened by the ministry ; and, therefore, the Earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the House of Commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited against them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the court, declared that, considering the state of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. In the course of this session, the nation sustained another misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron. He received instructions to take under his convoy the merchant-ships bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy ; to

Sir Francis  
Wheeler  
perishes in  
a storm.

cruise thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spanish plate-fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his squadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the rest to the Mediterranean; to join the Spanish fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he should be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Straits, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he set sail from St. Helen's, and in

1694.

January arrived at Cadiz with the ships under his convoy. There leaving Rear-Admiral Hopson, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempest, under a lee-shore, which he could not possibly weather, and where the ground was so foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ships were driven ashore, and many perished. The admiral's ship foundered at sea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculously preserved. Two other ships of the line, three ketches, and six merchant-ships, were lost. The remains of the fleet were so much shattered, that, instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the king closed the session with a speech in the usual style, and the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of September.<sup>4</sup>

Louis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the Duke

<sup>4</sup> Besides the bills already mentioned, the Parliament in this session passed an act for taking and stating the public accounts—another to encourage ship-building—a third for the better disciplining the navy—the usual militia act—and an act enabling his majesty to make grants and leases in the Duchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute, limiting the number of justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The Duke of Norfolk brought an action in the Court of King's Bench against Mr. Germaine for criminal conversation with his duchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred marks, and costs of suit, in favour of the plaintiff.

Before the king embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the Duke of Ormond, was created Lord Butler, of Weston in England, and Earl of Arran in Ireland. The Earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of duke. The Earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the court measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of Marquis of Normanby. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of Baron Herbert, of Cherbury. The Earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of dukes. The Marquis of Caermarthen was made Duke of Leeds; Lord Viscount Sidney, created Earl of Romney; and Viscount Newport, Earl of Bedford. Russel was advanced to the head of the Admiralty-board. Sir George Rooke and Sir John Houbton were appointed joint commissioners, in the room of Killigrew and Delaval. Charles Montague was made chancellor of the exchequer; and Sir William Trumbal and John Smith, commissioners of the treasury, in the room of Sir Edward Seymour and Mr. Hambden.



of Savoy, and, by the channel of the pope, made some offers to the King of Spain, which were rejected. Meanwhile he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the Count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King William, having received intelligence of the design upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Russel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail; but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the admiral sailed from St. Helen's with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and tenders. He detached Captain Pritchard of the Monmouth with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of French merchant-ships near Conquet-bay; and this service being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a squadron, to take on board a body of land forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France. These being embarked, under the command of General Ptolemache, the whole fleet sailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and sea officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet designed for this expedition should separate from the rest, and proceed to Camaret-bay, where the forces should be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this squadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the seventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the Marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who served under Berkeley, as rear-admiral of the blue, entered Camaret-bay with two large ships and six frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the design, and taken such precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the English were exposed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, as well as from a strong body of troops; and though the ships cannonaded them with great vigour, the soldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the shore; and those who landed were soon repulsed, in spite of all the endeavours of General Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh,

The English attempt to make a descent in Camaret-bay, but are repulsed with loss.

which proved mortal. Seven hundred soldiers are said to have been lost on this occasion, besides those who were killed on board of the ships. The Monk ship of war was towed off with great difficulty; but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy.

After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the  
 They bombarded Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais. advice of a council of war, sailed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greatest part of the town to ashes. Thence they steered to Havre-de-Grace, which met with the same fate. They harassed the French troops, who marched after them along shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had they not been detained by military force. On the twenty-sixth day of July, Lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel. This officer, having received instructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meesters, with six-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day sent in the Charles galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called infernals. These were set on fire without effect, and the design miscarried; then Shovel steered to Calais, which having bombarded with little success, he returned to the coast of England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were sent into the river Thames.

During these transactions, Admiral Russel, with the  
 Admiral Russel sails for the Mediterranean, relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadiz. grand fleet, sailed to the Mediterranean; and being joined by Rear-Admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callemberg and Evertzen, he steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterprise. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance the kingdom must have been

undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter, during which he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Straits, that he did not think proper to risk the passage.

It will now be necessary to describe the operations on the continent. In the middle of May, King William Campaign in Flanders. arrived in Holland, where he consulted with the States-General. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethlem-abbey, near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne. In a few days a numerous army was assembled; and every thing seemed to promise an active campaign. On the third day of June the dauphin assumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken post between Mons and Maubeuge; and passing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus; but on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim; while the confederates lay at Roosbeck. On the eleventh of July, the dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-second, the confederates marched to Bomale; then the dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he secured his army by entrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to those of the allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this situation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of August, when King William sent the heavy baggage to Louvain; and on the eighteenth made a motion to Sombref. This was no sooner known to the enemy, than they decamped; and having marched all night, posted themselves between Temploux and Masy, within a league and a half of the confederates. The King of England resolved to pass the Scheldt; and with this view marched, by the way of Nivelles and Soignies, to Chievres: from thence he detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of horse and foot, to pass the river at Oudenarde, while the Elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment to pass it at Pont de Espieres. Notwithstanding all the expedition they could make, their

purpose was anticipated by Luxembourg, who, being apprised of their route, had detached four thousand horse, with each a foot soldier behind the trooper, to reinforce M. de Valette, who commanded that part of the French line. These were sustained by a choice body of men who travelled with great expedition, without observing the formalities of a march. Mareschal de Villeroy followed the same route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the household troops, and twenty field-pieces; and the rest of the army was brought up by the dauphin in person. They marched with such incredible diligence, that the Elector of Bavaria could scarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in sight of the Scheldt, and saw them entrenching themselves on the other side of the river. King William, having reconnoitred their disposition, thought it impracticable to pass at that place; and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where a passage had been already effected by the Duke of Wirtemberg. Here the confederates passed the Scheldt on the twenty-seventh day of the month; and the king fixed his head-quarters at Wan-neghem. His intention was to have taken possession of Courtray, and established winter-quarters for a considerable part of his army in that district; but Luxembourg having posted himself between that place and Menin, extended his lines in such a manner, that the confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from subsisting his army at the expense of the Castellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This surprising march was of such importance to the French king, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army; and ordered that it should be read to every particular squadron and battalion.

The King of England, though disappointed in his scheme upon Courtray, found means to make some advantage The allies reduce Huy. of his superiority in number. He drafted troops from the garrisons of Liege and Maestricht; and on the third day of September reinforced this body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, with orders to undertake the siege of Huy. Next day the whole confederate forces passed the Lys, and encamped at Wouterghem. From thence the king, with part of the army, marched to Roselaer: this diversion obliged the dauphin to make considerable detachments, for the security of Ypres and Menin on one side, and

to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being seized in the very act of setting fire to one of the ammunition waggons in the allied army, confessed he had been employed for this purpose by some of the French generals, and suffered death as a traitor. On the sixteenth day of the month, the Duke of Holstein-Ploen invested Huy, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in ten days the garrison capitulated. The king ordered Dixmuyde, Deynese, Ninove, and Tirlemonte, to be secured for winter-quarters to part of the army: the dauphin returned to Versailles: William quitted the camp on the last day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October.

The operations on the Rhine were preconcerted between King William and the Prince of Baden, who had visited London in the winter. The dispute between the emperor and the Elector of Saxony was compromised; and this young prince dying during the negotiation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and successor, who engaged to furnish twelve thousand men yearly, in consideration of a subsidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, in order to give battle to the imperialists, encamped at Hailbron. The Prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Hessians, nor by the troops of Munster and Paderborn, despatched couriers to quicken the march of these auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he proposed to wait till they should come up; but, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a desperate effort, and immediately halted to make the necessary preparations for an engagement. This pause enabled Prince Louis to take possession of a strong pass near Sintzheim, from which he could not easily be dislodged. Then the mareschal proceeded to Viseloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the imperialists from their entrenchments. The prince, being joined by the Hessians, resolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French general being apprised of his design, retreated at midnight with the utmost precipitation. Having posted himself at Ruth, he sent his heavy baggage to Philipsburg; then he moved to Gonsbergh, in the neigh-

The Prince of Baden passes the Rhine, but is obliged to retrace that river. Operations in Hungary.

bourhood of Manheim, repassed the Rhine, and encamped between Spiers and Worms. The Prince of Baden, being joined by the allies, passed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and laid the country of Alsace under contribution. Considering the advanced season of the year, this was a rash undertaking; and the French general resolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced against the imperialists, foreseeing that, should they be worsted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately passed the Rhine; and this retreat was no sooner effected, than the river swelled to such a degree, that the island in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no event of importance. It was opened by the new visir, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of August; and about the same time Caprara assembled the imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks passed the Saave, in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progress. The imperialists received reinforcements; the season wasted away; a feud arose between the visir and the cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being swelled by heavy rains, so as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their general decamped in the night of the first of October. They afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Titul, while the imperial general made himself master of Giula. In the course of this summer, the Venetians, who were also at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of importance on the river Naranta, and made a conquest of the island of Scio in the Archipelago.

We have already observed, that the French king had determined to act vigorously in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the Duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thousand men to the river Ter, on the opposite bank of which the viceroi of Catalonia was encamped with sixteen thousand Spaniards. The French general passed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their entrenchments with such impetuosity, that in less than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the siege of that place, while at the same time it was

Progress of  
the French  
in Catalo-  
nia. State  
of the war  
in Pied-  
mont.

blocked up by the combined squadrons of Brest and Toulon. Though the besieged made an obstinate defence, the town was taken by storm, the houses were pillaged, and the people put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. Then he invested Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Ostalric met with the same fate, and Noailles was created viceroy of Catalonia by the French king. In the beginning of August he distributed his forces into quarters of refreshment, along the river Tordore, resolving to undertake the siege of Barcelona, which was saved by the arrival of Admiral Russel. The war languished in Piedmont, on account of a secret negotiation between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; notwithstanding the remonstrances of Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, who had succeeded the Duke of Schomberg in the command of the British forces in that country. Casal was closely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in some skirmishes in the valley of Ragelas; but no design of importance was executed.\*

England had remained very quiet under the queen's administration, if we except some little commotions occasioned by the practices, or pretended practices, of the Jacobites. Prosecutions were revived against certain gentlemen of Lancashire and Cheshire, for having been concerned in the conspiracy formed in favour of the late king's projected invasion from Normandy. These steps were owing to the suggestions of infamous informers, whom the ministry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Crosby were imprisoned, and bills of treason found against them; but Parker made his escape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was set upon his head. The king, having settled the affairs of the confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the session of Parliament, with a speech, in which he observed, that the posture of affairs was improved, both by sea and land, since they last parted; in particular, that a stop was put to the progress of the French arms. He desired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage,

The king returns to England. The Parliament meets. The bill for triennial Parliaments receives the royal assent.

\* In the course of this year, M. du Cassé, governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica; and M. St. Clair, with four men of war, formed a design against St. John's, Newfoundland; but he was repulsed with loss, by the valour of the inhabitants.

which would expire at Christmas: he reminded them of the debt for the transport ships employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare some good bill for the encouragement of seamen. A majority in both Houses was already secured; and in all probability he bargained for their condescension, by agreeing to the bill for triennial Parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in, by order of the Lower House, immediately after their first adjournment; and it kept pace with the consideration of the supplies. The Commons, having examined the estimates and accounts, voted four millions seven hundred sixty-four thousand seven hundred and twelve pounds for the service of the army and navy. In order to raise this sum, they continued the land-tax; they renewed the subsidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and imposed new duties on different commodities.<sup>1</sup> The triennial bill enacted, that a Parliament should be held once in three years at least: that within three years at farthest after the dissolution of the Parliament then subsisting, and so from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great seal should be issued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, assembling, and holding another new Parliament: that no Parliament should continue longer than three years at farthest, to be accounted from the first day of the first session; and, that the Parliament then subsisting should cease and determine on the first day of November next following, unless their majesties should think fit to dissolve it sooner. The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Weymouth and Aylesbury, protested against this bill, because it tended to the continuance of the present Parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the constitution of England.

While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the twenty-second day of November, deeply regretted by the king and queen, who shed tears of sorrow at his decease; and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. These qualities he must be allowed to have possessed, notwithstanding the invectives of his enemies, who

<sup>1</sup> They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards paying the debt due for the transport ships; and another imposing duties on glass-ware, stone and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.



accused him of puritanism, flattery, and ambition; and charged him with having conduced to a dangerous schism in the church, by accepting the archbishopric during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tennison, Bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the whig party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his decease, she was taken ill of the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent some time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new archbishop; she received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth of her reign, to the inexpressible grief of the king, who, for some weeks after her death, could neither see company nor attend to the business of state. Mary was in her person tall and well-proportioned, with an oval visage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect; and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid. She was a zealous Protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild conversation. She was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been deposed, and treated her sister as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary seems to have imbibed the cold disposition and apathy of her husband; and to have centred all her ambition in deserving the epithet of a humble and obedient wife.\*

The Princess Anne, being informed of the queen's dangerous indisposition, sent a lady of her bedchamber to desire she might be admitted to her majesty; but this request was not granted. She was thanked for her expression of con-

\* Her obsequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey by all the judges, serjeants at law, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, and both Houses of Parliament; and the funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Kenn, the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her majesty on her death-bed to repent of the share she had in the Revolution. This was answered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy insulted the queen's memory by preaching on the following text: "Go now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." On the other hand, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, came to a resolution to erect her statue, with that of the king, in the Royal Exchange.

cern; and given to understand that the physicians had directed that the queen should be kept as quiet as possible. Before her death, however, she sent a forgiving message to her sister; and after her decease, the Earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the king and the princess, who visited him at Kensington, where she was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St. James for her residence, and presented her with the greater part of the queen's jewels. But a mutual jealousy and disgust subsisted under these exteriors of friendship and esteem. The two Houses of Parliament waited on the king at Kensington with consolatory addresses on the death of his consort: their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the dissenting ministers, and almost all the great corporations in England.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham are said to have started a doubt, whether the Parliament was not dissolved by the queen's death; but this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

## CHAPTER V.

## WILLIAM.

ACCOUNT OF THE LANCASHIRE PLOT. — THE COMMONS INQUIRE INTO THE ABUSES WHICH HAD CREEPT INTO THE ARMY. — THEY EXPEL AND PROSECUTE SOME OF THEIR OWN MEMBERS FOR CORRUPTION IN THE AFFAIR OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. — EXAMINATION OF COOKE, ACTON, AND OTHERS. — THE COMMONS IMPEACH THE DUKE OF LEEDS. — THE PARLIAMENT IS PROROGUED. — SESSION OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. — THEY INQUIRE INTO THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOCK. — THEY PASS AN ACT FOR ERECTING A TRADING COMPANY TO AFRICA AND THE INDIES. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND. — DISPOSITION OF THE ARMIES IN FLANDERS. — KING WILLIAM UNDERTAKES THE SIEGE OF NAMUR. — FAMOUS RETREAT OF PRINCE VAUDEMONT. — BRUSSELS IS BOMBARDED BY VILLEROY. — PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE OF NAMUR. — VILLEROY ATTEMPTS TO RELIEVE IT. — THE BESIEGERS MAKE A DESPERATE ASSAULT. — THE PLACE CAPTULATES. — BOUFFLERS IS ARRESTED BY ORDER OF KING WILLIAM. — CAMPAIGN ON THE RHINE, AND IN HUNGARY. — THE DUKE OF SAVOY TAKES CASAL. — TRANSACTIONS IN CATALONIA. — THE ENGLISH FLEET BOMBARDS ST. MALOES AND OTHER PLACES ON THE COAST OF FRANCE. — WILMOT'S EXPEDITION TO THE WEST INDIES. — A NEW PARLIAMENT. — THEY PASS A BILL FOR REGULATING TRIALS IN CASES OF HIGH TREASON. — RESOLUTIONS WITH RESPECT TO A NEW COINAGE. — THE COMMONS ADDRESS THE KING, TO RECALL A GRANT HE HAD MADE TO THE EARL OF PORTLAND. — ANOTHER AGAINST THE NEW SCOTTISH COMPANY. — INTRIGUES OF THE JACOBITES. — CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF WILLIAM. — DESIGN OF AN INVASION DEFEATED. — THE TWO HOUSES ENGAGE IN AN ASSOCIATION FOR THE DEFENCE OF HIS MAJESTY. — ESTABLISHMENT OF A LAND-BANK. — TRIAL OF THE CONSPIRATORS. — THE ALLIES BURN THE MAGAZINE AT GIVET. — LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH MAKES ADVANCES TOWARDS A PEACE WITH HOLLAND. — HE DETACHES THE DUKE OF SAVOY FROM THE CONFEDERACY. — NAVAL TRANSACTIONS. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE PARLIAMENTS OF SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. — ZEAL OF THE ENGLISH COMMONS IN THEIR AFFECTION TO THE KING. — RESOLUTIONS TOUCHING THE COIN, AND THE SUPPORT OF PUBLIC CREDIT. — ENORMOUS IMPOSITIONS. — SIR JOHN FENWICK IS APPREHENDED. — A BILL OF ATTAINDER, BEING BROUGHT INTO THE HOUSE AGAINST HIM, PRODUCES VIOLENT DEBATES. — HIS DEFENCE. — THE BILL PASSES. — SIR JOHN FENWICK IS BEHEADED. — THE EARL OF MONMOUTH SENT TO THE TOWER. — INQUIRY INTO MISCARRIAGES BY SEA. — NEGOTIATIONS AT RYSWICK. — THE FRENCH TAKE BARCELONA. — FRUITLESS EXPEDITION OF ADMIRAL NEVILLE TO THE WEST INDIES. — THE ELECTOR OF SAXONY IS CHOSEN KING OF POLAND. — PETER, THE Czar OF MOSCOVY, TRAVELS IN DISGUISE WITH HIS OWN AMBASSADORS. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONGRESS AT RYSWICK. — THE AMBASSADORS OF ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND HOLLAND, SIGN THE TREATY. — A GENERAL PACIFICATION.

THE kingdom now resounded with the complaints of the Papists and malecontents, who taxed the ministry with subornation of perjury, in the case of the Lancashire gentlemen who had been prosecuted for the conspiracy. One Lunt, an Irishman, had informed Sir John Trenchard, secretary of state, that he had been sent from Ireland with commissions from King James to divers

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the Lancashire plot.

gentlemen in Lancashire and Cheshire; that he had assisted in buying arms and enlisting men to serve that king in his projected invasion of England; that he had been twice despatched by those gentlemen to the court of St. Germain's, assisted many Jacobites in repairing to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all those persons told him they were furnished with money by Sir John Friend to defray the expense of their expeditions. His testimony was confirmed by other infamous emissaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were issued, and filled up occasionally with such names as the informers suggested. These were delivered to Aaron Smith, solicitor to the treasury, who, with messengers, accompanied Lunt and his associates to Lancashire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horse-guards, commanded by one Captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houses, seize papers, and apprehend persons, according to their pleasure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppression. The persons against whom these measures were taken, being apprised of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habitations. Some, however, were taken and imprisoned; a few arms were secured; and, in the house of Mr. Standish, at Standish-hall, they found the draft of a declaration to be published by King James at his landing. As this prosecution seemed calculated to revive the horror of a stale conspiracy, and the evidences were persons of abandoned characters, the friends of those who were persecuted found no great difficulty in rendering the scheme odious to the nation. They even employed the pen of Ferguson, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched since the Rye-house conspiracy. This veteran, though appointed housekeeper to the excise-office, thought himself poorly recompensed for the part he had acted in the Revolution, became dissatisfied, and, upon this occasion, published a letter to Sir John Trenchard on the abuse of power. It was replete with the most bitter invectives against the ministry, and contained a great number of flagrant instances in which the court had countenanced the vilest corruption, perfidy, and oppression. This production was in every body's hand, and had such an effect upon the people, that when the prisoners were brought to trial at Manchester, the populace would have put the witnesses to death, had they not been prevented by the interposition of

those who were friends to the accused persons, and had already taken effectual measures for their safety. Lunt's chief associate in the mystery of information was one Taaffe, a wretch of the most profligate principles, who, finding himself disappointed in his hope of reward from the ministry, was privately gained over by the agents for the prisoners. Lunt, when desired in court to point out the persons whom he had accused, committed such a mistake as greatly invalidated his testimony; and Taaffe declared before the bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himself and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The prisoners were immediately acquitted, and the ministry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of knavish contrivances to ensnare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of such practices, ordered the witnesses to be prosecuted for a conspiracy against the lives and estates of the gentlemen who had been accused; and at last the affair was brought into the House of Commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence for the crown, not without making a considerable impression. But the cause was now debated before judges, who were not at all propitious to their views. The Commons, having set on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumstances relating to the pretended plot, resolved, that there was sufficient ground for the prosecution and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the king and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they presented an address to the king, desiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The Peers concurred with the Commons in their sentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their House also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, whether the government had cause to prosecute them; and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the crown for a conspiracy against

the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry in laying this indictment was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony; but the design being discovered, the Lancashiremen refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence, and the prisoners were discharged.

When the Commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to Colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence-money, even on pain of military execution. The House was immediately kindled into a flame by this information. The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regiment, were examined: then it was unanimously resolved, that such a practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. Upon further inquiry, Pauncefort and some other agents were committed to the custody of the serjeant, for having neglected to pay the subsistence-money they had received for the officers and soldiers. He was afterwards sent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the House, and secretary to the treasury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving, a  
 1695. bribe to obtain the king's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewise committed, for being concerned in the same commerce. Guy had been employed, together with Trevor, the speaker, as the court-agent for securing a majority in the House of Commons: for that reason he was obnoxious to the members in the opposition; who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not with any decency screen him from their vengeance. The House having proceeded in this inquiry, drew up an address to the king, enumerating the abuses which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redress. He promised to consider the remonstrance, and redress the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he cashiered Colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to sit weekly and examine all complaints against any officer and soldier; and published a declaration for the maintenance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithstanding

The Commons inquire into the abuses which had crept into the army.

these concessions, the Commons prosecuted their examinations: they committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for clothing the army, because he refused to answer upon oath to such questions as might be put to him by the commissioners of accounts. They brought in a bill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage, the other contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to discover how they had disposed of the sums paid into their hands on account of the army; and for punishing them, in case they should persist in their refusal. At this period they received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an address to the king, were removed with disgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the trust reposed in them by act of Parliament.

Burnet.  
Boyer.  
Oldmixon.  
State  
Tracts.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.  
Lives of  
the Admirals.  
Daniel.  
Voltaire.

Those who encouraged this spirit of reformation introduced another inquiry about the orphans' bill, which was said to have passed into an act, by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to inspect the chamberlain's books discovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House, and Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee. The first, being voted guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed speaker in his room. Then Sir John and Hungerford were expelled the House: one Nois, a solicitor for the bill, was taken into custody, because he had scandalized the Commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great sums to several members, and denying this circumstance on his examination. The reformers in the House naturally concluded that the same arts had been practised in obtaining the new charter of the East India Company, which had been granted so much against the sense of the nation. Their books were subjected to the same committee that carried on the former inquiry, and a surprising scene of venality and corruption was soon disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the course of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in secret services; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, and a member of the House, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, refusing to answer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and

They expelled and prosecute some of their own members for corruption in the affair of the East India Company.

penalties brought in, obliging him to discover how the sum mentioned in the report of the committee had been distributed. The bill was violently opposed in the Upper House by the Duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furnishing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke being, agreeably to his own petition, brought to the bar of the House of Lords, declared he was ready and willing to make a full discovery, in case he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to secure him against all actions and suits, except those of the East India Company, which he had never injured. The Lords complied with his request, and passed a bill for this purpose, to which the Commons added a penal clause; and the former was laid aside.

When the king went to the House, to give the royal assent to the money bills, he endeavoured to discourage this inquiry, by telling the Parliament that the season of the year was far advanced, and the circumstances of affairs extremely pressing: he therefore desired they would despatch such business as they should think of most importance to the public, as he should put an end to the session in a few days. Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, both Houses appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated scheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his first examination, confessed that he had delivered tallies for ten thousand pounds to Francis Tyssen, deputy-governor, for the special service of the company; an equal sum to Richard Acton, for employing his interest in preventing a new settlement, and endeavouring to establish the old company; besides two thousand pounds by way of interest, and as a further gratuity; a thousand guineas to Colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineux, a merchant, for the same purposes; and he owned that Sir Basil Firebrace had received forty thousand pounds on various pretences. He said, he believed the ten thousand pounds paid to Tyssen had been delivered to the king by Sir Josiah Child, as a customary present which former kings had received; and that the sums paid to Acton were distributed among some members of Parliament. Firebrace, being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thousand pounds for his own use and benefit; but that Bates had received sums of money, which he understood were offered to some persons of the first quality. Acton

Examina-  
tion of  
Cooke, Ac-  
ton, and  
others.



declared that ten thousand pounds of the sum which he had received was distributed among persons who had interest with members of Parliament; and that great part of the money passed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with some colonels in the House, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in consideration of using his interest with the Duke of Leeds in favour of the company; that this nobleman knew of the gratuity; and that the sum was reckoned by his grace's domestic, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his possession until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's testimony; as well as by that of Firebrace on his second examination, that the Duke of Leeds was not free from corruption, and that Sir John Trevor was a hireling prostitute.

The report of the committee produced violent altercations, and the most severe strictures upon the conduct of the lord-president. At length, the House resolved, that there was sufficient matter to impeach Thomas Duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanours; and that he should be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, that Mr. Comptroller Wharton should impeach him before the Lords in the name of the House, and of all the Commons in England. The duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification, in which he assured the House upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had passed in the Commons. He concluded his speech abruptly, and repairing to the Lower House, desired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having sat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the Commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for the favour of indulging him with a hearing, he said that House would not have been then sitting but for him. He protested his own innocence, with respect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a design which had been long formed against him. He expressed a deep sense of his being under the displeasure of the Parliament and nation, and demanded speedy justice. They forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment, which being exhibited at the bar of

The Commons impeach the Duke of Leeds.

the Upper House, he pleaded not guilty, and the Commons promised to make good their charge; but, by this time, such arts had been used as all at once checked the violence of the prosecution. Such a number of considerable persons were involved in this mystery of corruption, that a full discovery was dreaded by both parties. The duke sent his domestic, Robart, out of the kingdom, and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the inquiry was dropped; but the scandal stuck fast to the duke's character.

In the midst of these deliberations, the king went to the House on the third day of May, when he thanked the Parliament for the supplies they had granted; signified his intention of going abroad; assured them he would place the administration of affairs in persons of known care and fidelity; and desired that the members of both Houses would be more than ordinarily vigilant in preserving the public peace. The Parliament was then prorogued to the eighteenth of June.\* The king immediately appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; but neither the Princess of Denmark nor her husband were entrusted with any share in the administration; a circumstance that evinced the king's jealousy, and gave offence to a great part of the nation.<sup>b</sup>

A session of Parliament was deemed necessary in Scotland,

\* In the course of this session, the Lords had inquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and presented an address to the king, declaring, that the fleet in those seas had conducted to the honour and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the Commons, in an address, besought his majesty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expense of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminished and adulterated, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham expatiated upon this national evil in the House of Lords; and an act was passed, containing severer penalties against clippers; but this produced no good effect. The value of money sunk in the exchange to such a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty shillings; and this public disgrace lowered the credit of the funds of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, instead of gold and silver, such as bank-bills, exchequer-tallies, and government securities. The malecontents took this opportunity to exclaim against the bank, and even attempted to shake the credit of it in Parliament; but their endeavours proved abortive: the monied interest preponderated in both Houses.

<sup>b</sup> The regency was composed of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Somers, lord-keeper of the great seal; the Earl of Pembroke, lord privy-seal; the Duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the Duke of Shrewsbury, secretary of state; the Earl of Dorset, lord-chamberlain; and the Lord Godolphin, first commissioner of the treasury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of secretary was filled with Sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Constantinople. William Nassau de Zuylestein, son of the king's natural uncle, was created Baron of Enfield, Viscount Tunbridge, and Earl of Rochford. Ford, Lord Grey of Werke, was made Viscount Glendale, and Earl of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was distinguished by the death of the famous George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who had survived in a good measure his talents and reputation.

to provide new subsidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kingdom, which had been so serviceable in the prosecution of the war. But, as a great outcry had been raised against the government, on account of the massacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expense of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the ministry thought proper to cajole them with the promise of some national indulgence. In the mean time, a commission passed the great seal, for taking a precognition of the massacre, as a previous step to the trial of the persons concerned in that perfidious transaction. On the ninth of May, the session was opened by the Marquis of Tweeddale, appointed commissioner, who, after the king's letter had been read, expatiated on his majesty's care and concern for their safety and welfare; and his firm purpose to maintain the presbyterian discipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promised, in the king's name, that if they would pass an act for establishing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his majesty would indulge them with such rights and privileges as he had granted in like cases to the subjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to consider ways and means to raise the necessary supplies for maintaining their land-forces, and for providing a competent number of ships of war to protect their commerce. The Parliament immediately voted an address of condolence to his majesty on the death of the queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling for the service of the ensuing year, to be raised by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional excise.

Session of  
the Scottish  
Parliament.

Their next step was to desire the commissioner would transmit their humble thanks to the king, for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the justice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with respect to the slaughter of Glencoe.

They in-  
quire into  
the mas-  
sacre of  
Glencoe.

A motion was afterwards made that the commissioners should exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair: accordingly, a report, consisting of the king's instructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depositions of witnesses, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the Parliament. The motion is said to have been privately influenced by Secretary Johnston, for the disgrace of Dalrymple, who was

his rival in power and interest. The written opinion of the commissioners, who were creatures of the court, imported, that Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiously murdered; that the king's instructions contained nothing to warrant the massacre; and that Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The Parliament concurred with this report. They resolved, that Livingston was not to blame for having given the orders contained in his letters to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton: that this last was liable to prosecution: that the king should be addressed to give orders, either for examining Major Duncanson in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair; or for sending him home to be tried in Scotland; as also, that Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindsey, Ensign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, should be sent to Scotland, and prosecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In consequence of these resolutions, the Parliament drew up an address to the king, in which they laid the whole blame of the massacre upon the excess in the Master of Stair's letters concerning that transaction. They begged that his majesty would give such orders about him, as he should think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous slaughter might be prosecuted by the king's advocate, according to law; and that some reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who escaped the massacre, for the losses they had sustained in their effects upon that occasion, as their habitations had been plundered and burned, their lands wasted, and their cattle driven away; so that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithstanding this address of the Scottish Parliament, by which the king was so solemnly exculpated, his memory is still loaded with the suspicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution, especially as the Master of Stair escaped with impunity, and the other actors in the tragedy, far from being punished, were preferred in the service. While the commissioners were employed in the inquiry, they made such discoveries concerning the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high treason; and he was committed prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh; but it seems he had dissembled with the Highlanders, by the king's permission, and now sheltered himself under the shadow of a royal pardon.

The committee of trade, in pursuance of the powers

granted by the king to his commissioner, prepared an act for establishing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, hold cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the consent of the natives; vesting them with an exclusive right, and an exemption for one-and-twenty years from all duties and impositions. This act was likewise confirmed by letters-patent under the great seal, directed by the Parliament, without any farther warrant from the crown. Patterson, the projector, had contrived the scheme of a settlement upon the isthmus of Darien in such a manner as to carry on a trade in the South Sea, as well as in the Atlantic; nay, even to extend it as far as the East Indies: a great number of London merchants, allured by the prospect of gain, were eager to engage in such a company, exempted from all manner of imposition and restriction. The Scottish Parliament likewise passed an act in favour of the episcopal clergy, decreeing, that those who should enter into such engagements to the king, as were by law required, might continue in their benefices under his majesty's protection, without being subject to the power of presbytery. Seventy of the most noted ministers of that persuasion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted, for raising nine thousand men yearly, to recruit the Scottish regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a public bank; then the Parliament was adjourned to the seventh day of November.

They pass an act for erecting a trading company to Africa and the Indies.

Ireland began to be infected with the same factions which had broken out in England since the Revolution: Lord Capel, the lord-deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppressing the Irish Papists, without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a Parliament in such a manner, that they should comply with all the demands of the ministry; and he succeeded in his endeavours, by making such arbitrary changes in offices as best suited his purpose. These precautions being taken, he convoked a Parliament for the twenty-seventh day of August, when he opened the session with a speech, expatiating upon their obligations to King William, and exhorting them to make suitable returns to such a gracious sovereign. He observed, that the revenue had fallen short of the establishment; so that both the civil and military lists were greatly in debt: that his majesty had sent over a bill for an addi-

Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.

tional excise, and expected they would find ways and means to answer the demands of the service. They forthwith voted an address of thanks, and resolved to assist his majesty, to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies foreign and domestic. They passed the bill for an additional excise, together with an act for taking away the writ "*De heretico comburendo*:" another annulling all attainders and acts passed in the late pretended Parliament of King James: a third to prevent foreign education: a fourth for disarming Papists: and a fifth for settling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, that a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds should be granted to his majesty, to be raised by a poll-bill, additional customs, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not entirely destroyed, by the assuming disposition and power of the lord-deputy, began to court popularity, by espousing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration; and actually formed a kind of tory interest, which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in Parliament to impeach the chancellor, for sowing discord and division among his majesty's subjects; but being indulged with a hearing by the House of Commons, he justified himself so much to their satisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation by a great majority. Nevertheless, they, at the end of the session, sent over an address, in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their lord-deputy.

King William, having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence, crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandize his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already on the decline. That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner, that the haughty Louis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not quiet; he saw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Francis de Montmorency, Duke of Luxembourg, to whose military talents he owed the greatest part of his glory and success.

Disposition  
of the ar-  
mies in  
Flanders.

That great officer died in January at Versailles, in the sixty-seventh year of his age; and Louis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another general left, in whose understanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was intrusted to Mareschal Villeroy; and Boufflers commanded a separate army, though subject to the other's orders. As the French king took it for granted that the confederates would have a superiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterprising genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between the Lys and the Scheldt: he caused a disposition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; and laid injunctions on his general to act solely on the defensive. Meanwhile the confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The first consisted of seventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two squadrons of horse and dragoons, chiefly English and Scots, encamped at Aerseele, Caneghem, and Wouterghem, between Thielde and Deynse, to be commanded by the king in person, assisted by the old Prince of Vaudemont. The other army, composed of sixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, encamped at Zellech and Hamme, on the road from Brussels to Dendermonde, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, seconded by the Duke of Holstein-Ploen. Major-General Ellemberg was posted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten squadrons; and another body of Brandenburg and Dutch troops, with a reinforcement from Liege, lay encamped on the Meuse, under the conduct of the Baron de Heyden, lieutenant-general of Brandenburg, and the Count de Berlo, general of the Liege cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July; and remained eight days at Aerseele. Then he marched to Bekelar, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, after having detached ten thousand men to reinforce Boufflers, who had advanced to Pont d'Espieres; but he too retreating within his lines, the Elector of Bavaria passed the Scheldt, and took post at Kirkhoven: at the same time the body under Heyden advanced towards Namur.

The King of England, having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the side of Flanders, directed the Baron de Heyden and the Earl of Athlone, who commanded forty squadrons from the camp of the Elector of Bavaria, to invest Namur; and this

King William undertakes the siege of Namur.

service was performed on the third day of July; but, as the place was not entirely surrounded, Mareschal Boufflers threw himself into it, with such a reinforcement of dragoons as augmented the garrison to the number of fifteen thousand chosen men. King William and the elector brought up the rest of the forces, which encamped on both sides of the Sambre and the Maese; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the sixth day of July, under the direction of the celebrated engineer, General Coehorn. This place was formerly very strong, both by situation and art; but the French, since its last reduction, had made such additional works, that both the town and citadel seemed impregnable. Considering the number of the garrison, and the quality of the troops, commanded by a mareschal of France, distinguished by his valour and conduct, the enterprise was deemed an undeniable proof of William's temerity. On the eleventh the trenches were opened, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. The king receiving intelligence of a motion made by a body of French troops, with a view to intercept the convoys, detached twenty squadrons of horse and dragoons to observe the enemy.

Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Roselear with fifty battalions, and the like number of squadrons, understanding that Villeroy had passed the Lys in order to attack him, took post with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerseele and Caneghem, and began to fortify his camp, with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreghe, he changed the disposition of his camp, and entrenched himself on both sides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's design was to surround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by M. Montal, who had already passed the Thieldt for that purpose, he resolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the most capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions, and twelve pieces of cannon, to secure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to invest; but that general now changed his resolution, and undertook the siege of Dixmuyde, garrisoned by eight battalions of foot, and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Major-General Ellemberg, who, in six-and-thirty hours after the trenches

Famous  
retreat of  
Prince  
Vaude-  
mont.  
Brussels is  
bombarded  
by Villeroy.



were opened, surrendered himself and his soldiers prisoners of war. This scandalous example was followed by Colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynse on the same shameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the besiegers. In the sequel they were both tried for their misbehaviour: Ellemberg suffered death, and Ofarrel was broken with infamy. The Prince of Vaudemont sent a message to the French general, demanding the garrisons of those two places, according to a cartel which had been settled between the powers at war; but no regard was paid to this remonstrance. Villeroy, after several marches and counter-marches, appeared before Brussels on the thirteenth day of August, and sent a letter to the Prince of Berghem, governor of that city, importing that the king his master had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making reprisals for the damage done by the English fleet to the maritime towns of France: he likewise desired to know in what part the Electress of Bavaria resided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red-hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the electress into a miscarriage. On the fifteenth, the French discontinued their firing, and retired to Enghein.

During these transactions the siege of Namur was prosecuted with great ardour, under the eye of the King of England; while the garrison defended Progress of the siege of Namur. the place with equal spirit and perseverance. On the eighteenth day of July, Major-General Ramsay, and Lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, English, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterscarp. They were sustained by six English battalions, commanded by Brigadier-General Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thousand pioneers, advanced on the left, under Major-General Salisch. The assault was desperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage; but at last they were obliged to give way, and were pursued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The king was so well pleased with the behaviour of the British troops, that during the action he laid his

hand upon the shoulder of the Elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave English!" On the twenty-seventh, the English and Scots, under Ramsay and Hamilton, assaulted the counterscarp, where they met with prodigious opposition from the fire of the besieged. Nevertheless, being sustained by the Dutch, they made a lodgment on the foremost covered way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as also upon part of the counterscarp. The valour of the assailants on this occasion was altogether unprecedented, and almost incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the besieged was worthy of praise and admiration. Several persons were killed in the trenches at the side of the king, and among these Mr. Godfrey, deputy-governor of the bank of England, who had come to the camp, to confer with his majesty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the Elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that surrounded the works of the castle. General Coehorn was present in this action, which was performed with equal valour and success. They not only broke through the line, but even took possession of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impossible to effect a lodgment. On the second day of August, Lord Cutts, with four hundred English and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the saillant-angle of a demi-bastion, and lodged himself on the second counterscarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general assault, Count Guiscard, the governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of August; and the French retired into the citadel, against which twelve batteries played upon the thirteenth. The trenches, meanwhile, were carried on with great expedition, notwithstanding all the efforts of the besieged, who fired without ceasing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they sustained. At length, the annoyance became so dreadful from the unintermitting showers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious sallies, formed a scheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of King William.

After the bombardment of Brussels, Villeroy, being reinforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garri-  
sons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety

thousand men; and Prince Vaudemont, being joined by the Prince of Hesse, with a strong body of forces from the Rhine, took possession of the strong camp at Masy, within five English miles of the besieging army. The king, understanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they discharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a signal to inform the garrison of their approach, left the conduct of the siege to the Elector of Bavaria, and took upon himself the command of the covering army, in order to oppose Villeroy, who, being further reinforced by a detachment from Germany, declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the posture of the allies near Masy, he changed his resolution, and retired in the night without noise. On the thirteenth day of August the besieged were summoned to surrender, by Count Horne, who, in a parley with the Count de Lamont, general of the French infantry, give him to understand, that Mareschal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; so that the garrison could not expect to be relieved. No immediate answer being returned to this message, the parley was broken off, and the king resolved to proceed without delay to a general assault, which he had already planned with the elector and his other generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who desired the command, though it was not in his turn of duty, rushed out of the trenches of the second line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terranova, supported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while Colonel Marselly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians and Brandenburgishers, attacked at two other places. The assailants met with such a warm reception, that the English grenadiers were repulsed, even after they had mounted the breach, Lord Cutts being for some time disabled by a shot in the head. Marselly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the besiegers. The Bavarians, by mistaking their way, were exposed to a terrible fire, by which their general, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers, were slain: nevertheless, they fixed themselves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dressed, returned to

Villeroy attempts to relieve it. The besiegers make a desperate assault.

the scene of action, and ordered two hundred chosen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the saillant-angle next to the breach, sword in hand, while the ensigns of the same regiment should advance, and plant their colours on the palisadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the palisadoes, drove the French from the covered way, made a lodgment in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon against the enemy. The Bavarians, being thus sustained, made their post good. The Major-Generals La Cave and Schwerin lodged themselves at the same time on the covered way; and though the general assault did not succeed in its full extent, the confederates remained masters of a very considerable lodgment, nearly an English mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchased with the lives of two thousand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action, the Elector of Bavaria signalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hottest of the fire, giving his directions with notable presence of mind, according to the emergency of circumstances, animating the officers with praise and promise of preferment, and distributing handfuls of gold among the private soldiers.

On the first day of September, the besieged having obtained a cessation of arms, that their dead might be buried, the Count de Guiscard, appearing on the breach, desired to speak with the Elector of Bavaria. His highness immediately mounting the breach, the French governor offered to surrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to understand, that if he intended to capitulate, he must treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Boufflers, he agreed to the proposal: the cessation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finished. Villeroy, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no sooner apprised of this event, by a triple discharge of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the confederate army, than he passed the Sambre, near Charleroy, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garrison of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September, the French garrison, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thousand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of

The place capitulates. Boufflers is arrested by order of King William.

Namur. Boufflers, in marching out, was arrested in the name of his Britannic majesty, by way of reprisal for the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse, which the French king had detained, contrary to the cartel subsisting between the two nations. The mareschal was not a little discomposed at this unexpected incident, and expostulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who assured him the King of Great Britain entertained a profound respect for his person and character. William even offered to set him at liberty, provided he would pass his word that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back, or that he himself would return in a fortnight. He said, that he could not enter into any such engagement, as he did not know his master's reasons for detaining the garrisons in question. He was, therefore, reconveyed to Namur; from thence removed to Maestricht, and treated with great reverence and respect, till the return of an officer whom he had despatched to Versailles with an account of his captivity. Then he engaged his word, that the garrisons of Dixmuyde and Deynse should be sent back to the allied army. He was immediately released, and conducted in safety to Dinant. When he repaired to Versailles, Louis received him with very extraordinary marks of esteem and affection. He embraced him in public with the warmest expressions of regard; declared himself perfectly well satisfied with his conduct; created him a duke and peer of France; and presented him with a very large sum, in acknowledgment of his signal services.

After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of King William, he retired to his house at Loo, which was his favourite place of residence, leaving the command to the Elector of Bavaria; and about the latter end of September both armies began to separate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were distributed in different garrisons; and a strong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, for the security of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The Mareschal de Loges, in the beginning of June, passed the Rhine at Philipsburg; and posting himself at Brucksal, sent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of the same month, the Prince of Baden joined the German army

Campaign  
on the  
Rhine, and  
in Hun-  
dury.

at Steppach, and on the eighth of July was reinforced by the troops of the other German confederates, in the neighbourhood of Wiselock. On the nineteenth, the French retired without noise, in the night, towards Mannheim, where they repassed the river, without any interruption from the imperial general: then he sent off a large detachment to Flanders. The same step was taken by the Prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the Elector of Saxony; but the court of Vienna was so dilatory in its preparations, that he was not in a condition to act till the middle of August. Lord Paget had been sent ambassador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with instructions relating to a pacification; but before he could obtain an audience the sultan died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Mustapha, who resolved to prosecute the war in person. The warlike genius of this new emperor afforded but an uncomfortable prospect to his people, considering that Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and besiege Azoph; so that the Tartars were too much employed at home to spare the succours which the sultan demanded. Nevertheless, Mustapha and his visir took the field before the imperialists could commence the operations of the campaign, passed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by assault, stormed the camp of General Veterani, who was posted at Lugos with seven thousand men, and who lost his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a desperate defence; but the horse retreated to Carousebes, under the conduct of General Truschcs. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orsowa. Their navy, meanwhile, surprised the Venetian fleet at Scio, where several ships of the republic were destroyed, and they recovered that island, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon; but, in order to balance this misfortune, these last obtained a complete victory over the Bashaw of Negropont in the Morca.

The French king still maintained a secret negotiation with the Duke of Savoy, whose conduct had been for some time mysterious and equivocal. Contrary to the opinion of his allies, he undertook the siege of Casal, which was counted one of the strongest fortifications in Europe, defended by a numerous garrison, abundantly.

The Duke  
of Savoy  
takes Casal.

supplied with ammunition and provision. The siege was begun about the middle of May; and the place was surrendered by capitulation in about fourteen days, to the astonishment of the confederates, who did not know that this was a sacrifice by which the French court obtained the duke's forbearance during the remaining part of the campaign. The capitulation imported, that the place should be restored to the Duke of Mantua, who was the rightful proprietor: that the fortifications should be demolished at the expense of the allies: that the garrison should remain in the fort till that work should be completed: and hostages were exchanged for the performance of these conditions. The duke understood the art of procrastination so well, that September was far advanced before the place was wholly dismantled; and then he was seized with an ague, which obliged him to quit the army.

In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Russel, who wintered at Cadiz, was created admiral, chief-commander, and captain-general of all his majesty's ships employed, or to be employed, in the narrow seas, and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thousand five hundred soldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart; and seven thousand men, imperialists as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. These forces were transported to Barcelona, under the convoy of Admiral Nevil, detached by Russel for that purpose. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aspect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Ostalric and Castel-Follit: Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved upon the Duke de Vendome, who no sooner understood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he dismantled Ostalric and Castel-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The viceroy of Catalonia and the English admiral having resolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the English troops were landed on the ninth day of August, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle; but the viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the town was bombarded by the admiral. The miscarriage of this expedition was in a great measure owing to a misunderstanding between Russel and the court of Spain. The

Transactions in  
Cataloun.

admiral complained that his Catholic majesty had made no preparations for the campaign: that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with respect to the Spanish squadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: that he had taken no care to provide tents and provisions for the British forces. On the twenty-seventh day of August he sailed for the coast of Provence, where the fleet was endangered by a terrible tempest: then he steered down the Straits, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ships under the command of Sir David Mitchel, until he should be joined by Sir George Rooke, who was expected from England, and returned home with the rest of the combined squadrons.

While Admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coasts were again insulted in the Channel by a separate fleet under the command of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, assisted by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Maloes, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the sixth, Granville underwent the same fate, and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb-vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where four hundred soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters, the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his infernals, and other machines, for the service. On the first day of August the experiment was tried without success. The bombs did some execution; but two smoke ships miscarried. The French had secured the Risbank and wooden forts with piles, bombs, chains, and floating batteries, in such a manner, that the machine-vessels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Besides, the councils of the assailants were distracted by violent animosities. The English officers hated Meesters, because he was a Dutchman, and had acquired some credit with the king; he, on the other hand, treated them with disrespect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refused to co-operate with Lord Berkeley in his design upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the sixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and set fire to it in different quarters; but the enemy had in European precautions as rendered his scheme abortive.

The English fleet bombarded St. Maloes and other places on the coast of France.



A squadron had been sent to the West Indies under the joint command of Captain Robert Wilmot and Colonel Lillingston, with twelve hundred land-forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by seventeen hundred Spaniards raised by the President of St. Domingo; but instead of proceeding against Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Fort François, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston, who protested against his conduct. In a word, the sea and land officers lived in a state of perpetual dissension; and both became extremely disagreeable to the Spaniards, who soon renounced all connexion with them and their designs. In the beginning of September the commodore set sail for England, and lost one of his ships in the gulf of Florida. He himself died in his passage: and the greater part of the men being swept off by an epidemical distemper, the squadron returned to Britain in a most miserable condition. Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich vessels. The Marquis of Caermarthen, being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant-ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the Admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The Marquis of Caermarthen had been guilty of flagrant misconduct on this occasion; but the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France, from time to time, by the malecontents of England; for they were actuated by a scandalous principle, which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of their country.

King William, after having conferred with the States of

Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburg, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new Parliament. While the nation was in good humour, it was supposed that they would return such members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present Parliament might proceed in its inquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the crown, as their dependence was of such short duration. The Parliament was, therefore, dissolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidants, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the university of Cambridge. Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montague, at their different houses in the country: and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the Duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with Lord Brooke at Warwick-castle, dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and by the way of Woodstock made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the Duke of Ormond, as chancellor of the university, the vice-chancellor, the doctors in their habits, and the magistrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin speech: he received from the chancellor on his knees the usual presents of a large English Bible, and Book of Common Prayer, the cuts of the university, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the street, importing that there was a design to poison his majesty, William refused to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windsor. Notwithstanding this abrupt departure, which did not savour much

of magnanimity, the university chose Sir William Trumbal, secretary of state, as one of their representatives in Parliament.

The whig interest generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malecontents; and when the Parliament met, Foley was again chosen speaker of the Commons. The king, in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compassion the miserable situation of the French Protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increase of seamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making, for taking the field early; entreated them to use despatch; expressed his satisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their representatives in the House of Commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two Houses presented addresses of congratulation to the king upon his late success, and promised to assist him in prosecuting the war with vigour, the nation loudly exclaimed against the intolerable burdens and losses to which they were subjected, by a foreign scheme of politics, which, like an unfathomable abyss, swallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the king's endeavours to cover the disgusting side of his character had proved ineffectual: he was still dry, reserved, and forbidding; and the malecontents inveighed bitterly against his behaviour to the Princess Anne of Denmark. When the news of Namur being reduced arrived in England, this lady congratulated him upon his success in a dutiful letter, to which he would not deign to send a reply, either by writing or message; nor had she or her husband been favoured with the slightest mark of regard since his return to England. The members in the Lower House, who had adopted opposing maxims, either from principle or resentment, resolved that the crown should purchase the supplies with some concession in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the so long contested bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason and misprision of treason; and, considering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers

They pass a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason.

were afraid of obstructing such a popular measure. The Lords inserted a clause, enacting, that the peer should be tried by the whole peerage; and the Commons at once assented to this amendment. The bill provided, that persons indicted for high treason, or misprision of treason, should be furnished with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial; and indulged with counsel to plead in their defence: that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses swearing to overt-acts: that in two or more distinct treasons of divers kinds, alleged in one bill of indictment, one witness to one, and another witness to another, should not be deemed two witnesses: that no person should be prosecuted for any such crime, unless the indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in case of a design or attempt to assassinate or poison the king, where this limitation should not take place: that persons indicted for treason, or misprision of treason, should be supplied with copies of the panel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial, and have process to compel their witnesses to appear: that no evidence should be admitted of any overt-act not expressly laid in the indictment: that this act should not extend to any impeachment, or other proceedings in Parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his majesty's coin, his great seal, privy seal, sign manual, or signet.

This important affair being discussed, the Commons proceeded to examine the accounts and estimates, and voted above five millions for the service of the ensuing year. The state of the coin was by this time become such a national grievance as could not escape the attention of Parliament. The Lords prepared an address to the throne, for a proclamation to put a stop to the currency of diminished coin; and to this they desired the concurrence of the Commons. The Lower House, however, determined to take this affair under their own inspection. They appointed a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the state of the nation with respect to the currency. Great opposition was made to a recoinage, which was a measure strenuously recommended and supported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occasion by the advice of the great mathematician Sir Isaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that should the silver coin be called in, it would be impossible to maintain the war abroad, or

Resolutions with respect to a new coinage.

prosecute foreign trade, inasmuch as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the soldier receive his subsistence: that a stop would be put to all mutual payment; and this would produce universal confusion and despair. Such a reformation could not be effected without some danger and difficulty; but it was become absolutely necessary, as the evil daily increased, and in a little time must have terminated in national anarchy. After long and vehement debates, the majority resolved to proceed with all possible expedition to a new coinage. Another question arose, whether the new coin in its different denominations should retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the established standard be raised in value. The famous Locke engaged in this dispute against Mr. Lowndes, who proposed that the standard should be raised: the arguments of Mr. Locke were so convincing, that the committee resolved the established standard should be preserved with respect to weight and fineness. They likewise resolved, that the loss accruing to the revenue from clipped money should be borne by the public. In order to prevent a total stagnation, they further resolved, that after an appointed day, no clipped money should pass in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans of payment into the exchequer: that, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any sort should pass in any payment whatsoever: and that a third day should be fixed for all persons to bring in their clipped money to be re-coined, after which they should have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addressed the king to issue a proclamation agreeable to these resolutions; and on the nineteenth day of December it was published accordingly. Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceased, and a face of distraction appeared through the whole community. The adversaries of the bill seized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehensions of the public. They inveighed against the ministry as the authors of this national grievance; they levelled their satire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and address to avert the most dangerous consequences of popular discontent. The House of Commons agreed to the following resolutions: that twelve hundred thousand pounds should be raised by a duty on glass windows, to make up

the loss on the clipped money: that the recompense for supplying the deficiency of clipped money should extend to all silver coin, though of a coarser alloy than the standard: that the collectors and receivers of his majesty's aids and revenues should be enjoined to receive all such monies: that a reward of five per cent. should be given to all such persons as should bring in either milled or broad unclipped money, to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom: that a reward of threepence per ounce should be given to all persons who should bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: that persons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpose: that commissioners should be appointed in every county, to pay and distribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money, in lieu of that which was diminished. A bill being prepared agreeably to these determinations, was sent up to the House of Lords, who made some amendments, which the Commons rejected; but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another, without the clauses which the Lords had inserted. They were again proposed in the Upper House, and overruled by the majority: and, on the twenty-first day of January, the bill received the royal assent, as did another bill, enlarging the time for purchasing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the same time, the king passed the bill of trials for high treason, and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the House of Commons, that the losses in their trade and payments, occasioned by the rise of guineas, might be taken into consideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas for a certain time; and then the Commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin; a task in which they met with great opposition from some members, who alleged that it would foment the popular disturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea should be lowered from thirty to eight-and-twenty shillings, and afterwards to six-and-twenty: at length a clause was inserted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, settling the price of a guinea at two-and-twenty shillings, and it naturally sunk to its original value of twenty shillings and sixpence. Many persons, however, supposing

that the price of gold would be raised the next session, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the same supposition, encouraged by the malecontents, the new coined silver money was reserved, to the great detriment of commerce. The king ordered mints to be erected in York, Bristol, Exeter, and Chester, for the purpose of the recoinage, which was executed with unexpected success; so that in less than a year, the currency of England, which had been the worst, became the best coin in Europe.

At this period the attention of the Commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The Earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greatest share of the king's favour, had obtained a grant of some lordships in Derbyshire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county resolved to oppose it with all their power. In consequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the lords of the treasury. Sir William Williams, in the name of the rest, alleged, that the lordships in question were the ancient demesnes of the Prince of Wales, absolutely unalienable; that the revenues of those lordships supported the government of Wales, in paying the judges' and other salaries; that the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign subject; and that the people of the county were too great to be subject to any foreigner. Sundry other substantial reasons were used against the grant, which, notwithstanding all their remonstrances, would have passed through the offices, had not the Welsh gentlemen addressed themselves by petition to the House of Commons. Upon this occasion, Mr. Price, a member of the House, harangued with great severity against the Dutch in general, and did not even abstain from sarcasms upon the king's person, title, and government. The objections started by the petitioners, being duly considered, were found so reasonable, that the Commons presented an address to the king, representing that those manors had been usually annexed to the principality of Wales, and settled on the princes of Wales for their support: that many persons in those parts held their estates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compositions, rents, royal payments, and services to the crown and princes of Wales; and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under such tenure. They, therefore, besought his majesty to recall the grant, which was in diminution of the honour

The Commons address the king, to recall a grant he had made to the Earl of Portland.

and interest of the crown, and prayed that the said manors and lands might not be alienated without the consent of Parliament. This address met with a cold reception from the king, who promised to recall the grant which had given such offence to the Commons; and said he would find some other way of showing his favour to the Earl of Portland.

The people in general entertained a national aversion to this nobleman: the malecontents inculcated a notion that he made use of his interest and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flourish without competition. To his suggestions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottish company, which was supposed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The subject was first started in the House of Lords, who invited the Commons to a conference: a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottish company; and the two Houses presented a joint address against it, as a scheme that would prejudice all the subjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the English nation. They represented, that, in consequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottish company, that kingdom would become a free port for all East and West India commodities: that the Scots would be enabled to supply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the English could afford to sell their merchandize for; therefore, England would lose the benefit of its foreign trade: besides, they observed that the Scots would smuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his majesty and his customs. To this remonstrance the king replied, that he had been ill served in Scotland; but that he hoped some remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehensive. In all probability he had been imposed upon by the ministry of that kingdom; for, in a little time, he discarded the Marquis of Tweeddale, and dismissed both the Scottish secretaries of state, in lieu of whom he appointed Lord Murray, son to the Marquis of Athol. Notwithstanding the king's answer, the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and in consequence of their report, confirming a petition from the East India Company, the House resolved, that the directors of the Scottish company were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in administering and taking an oath *de fidei* in this kingdom;

Another  
against the  
new Scot-  
tish com-  
pany.



and that they should be impeached for the same. Meanwhile, Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into custody ; but he made his escape and could not be retaken, although the king, at their request, issued a proclamation for that purpose. The Scots were extremely incensed against the king, when they understood he had disowned their company, from which they had promised themselves such wealth and advantage. The settlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution, though it miscarried in the sequel, and had like to have produced abundance of mischief.

The complaints of the English merchants who had suffered by the war were so loud at this juncture, that the Commons resolved to take their case into consideration. The House resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation with regard to commerce ; and having duly weighed all circumstances, agreed to the following resolutions : that a council of trade should be established by act of Parliament, with powers to take measures for the more effectual preservation of commerce : that the commissioners should be nominated by Parliament, but none of them have seats in the House : that they should take an oath acknowledging the title of King William as rightful and lawful ; and abjuring the pretensions of James, or any other person. The king considered these resolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and signified his displeasure to the Earl of Sunderland, who patronized this measure : but it was so popular in the House, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the Commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conspiracy. The friends of King James had, upon the death of Queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a restoration of that monarch, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by the decease of his consort. Certain individuals, whose zeal for James overshot their discretion, formed a design to seize the person of King William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in case of resistance. They had sent emissaries to the court of St. Germain's, to demand a commission for this purpose, which was refused. The Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, son to the Marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Captain Char-

Intrigues  
of the  
Jacobites.

nock, Captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the first contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a proposal to James, that he should procure a body of horse and foot from France, to make a descent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. These offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French king could not spare such a number of troops at that juncture, the Earl of Aylesbury went over in person, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the scheme of an invasion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conspirators, assured them that King James was ready to make a descent with a considerable number of French forces, distributed commissions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horses, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the sea-side: a great number of transports were assembled at Dunkirk: Monsieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a squadron of ships, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a sufficient convoy; and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Meanwhile, the Jacobites in England were assiduously employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very nearly completed a regiment of horse. Considerable progress was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had enlisted four troops. Colonel Tempest had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commissioned for a third; and the malecontents intended to raise a fourth in Suffolk, where their interest chiefly prevailed.

While one part of the Jacobites proceeded against William in the usual way of exciting an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, had formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet close, circumspect, and determined, was landed, with other officers, in Romney-marsh, by one Captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is said to have undertaken the task of seizing or assassin-

Conspiracy  
against the  
life of Wil-  
liam.

ating King William. He imparted his design to Harrison, alias Johnston, a priest, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and he pretended to have a particular commission for this service. After various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the scene of their intended ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. As it would be necessary to charge and disperse the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons for the enterprise. When their complement was full, they determined to execute their purpose on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they should meet in small parties without suspicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, some of the underling actors, seized with horror at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the prospect of reward, resolved to prevent the execution of the design by a timely discovery. On the eleventh day of February, one Fisher informed the Earl of Portland of the scheme, and named some of the conspirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumstantial detail of all the particulars. Next day the earl was accosted by one Pendergrass, an Irish officer, who told his lordship he had just come from Hampshire, at the request of a particular friend, and understood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a design to assassinate King William. He said he had promised to embark in the undertaking, though he detested it in his own mind, and took this first opportunity of revealing the secret, which was of such consequence to his majesty's life. He owned himself a Roman Catholic, but declared, that he did not think any religion could justify such a treacherous purpose. At the same time he observed, that as he lay under obligations to some of the conspirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuse them by name; and that he would upon no consideration appear as an evidence. The king had been so much used to fictitious plots and false discoveries, that he paid little regard to these informations, until they were confirmed by the testimony of another conspirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the same particulars to Brigadier Levison, without knowing the

least circumstance of the other discoveries. Then the king believed there was something real in the conspiracy; and Pendergrass and La Rue were severally examined in his presence. He thanked Pendergrass in particular for this instance of his probity; but observed that it must prove ineffectual, unless he would discover the names of the conspirators; for, without knowing who they were, he should not be able to secure his life against their attempts. At length Pendergrass was prevailed upon to give a list of those he knew, yet not before the king had solemnly promised that he should not be used as an evidence against them, except with his own consent. As the king did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conspirators postponed the execution of their design till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houses on the Friday, when every man received his instructions. There they agreed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they should ride in a body as far as Hammersmith, and then dispersing, enter London by different avenues. But on the morning, when they understood that the guards were returned to their quarters, and the king's coaches sent back to the Mews, they were seized with a sudden damp, on the suspicion that their plot was discovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himself, and every one began to think of providing for his own safety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. A proclamation was issued against those that absconded; and great diligence was used to find Sir George Barclay, who was supposed to have a particular commission from James for assassinating the Prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any such commission had been granted.

This design and the projected invasion proved equally abortive. James had scarce reached Calais, when the Duke of Wirtemberg despatched his aid-de-camp from Flanders to King William, with an account of the purposed descent. Expresses with the same tidings arrived from the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince de Vaudemont. Two considerable squadrons being ready for sea, Admiral Russel embarked at Spithead, and stood over to the French coast with about fifty sail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their vessels under the shore, in such shallow water that he

*Design of  
an invasion  
defeated.*

could not follow and destroy them : but he absolutely ruined their design, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried some weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were sent back to the garrisons from which they had been drafted : the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant star which ruled the destiny of James had blasted this and every other project formed for his restoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conspirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been sent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, surrendered himself to Sir William Trumball, and confessed the scheme of assassination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergrass were apprehended together. The last insisted upon the king's promise, that he should not be compelled to give evidence ; but when Porter owned himself guilty, the other observed, he was no longer bound to be silent, as his friend had made a confession ; and they were both admitted as evidences for the crown.

After their examination, the king, in a speech to both Houses, communicated the nature of the conspiracy against his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invasion : he explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design, and professed his confidence in their readiness and zeal to concur with him in every thing that should appear necessary for their common safety. That same evening the two Houses waited upon him at Kensington, in a body, with an affectionate address, by which they expressed their abhorrence of the villanous and barbarous design which had been formed against his sacred person, of which they besought him to take more than ordinary care. They assured him they would to the utmost defend his life, and support his government against the late King James, and all other enemies ; and declared that, in case his majesty should come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleased with this warm address, and assured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himself to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The Commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to secure all persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. They brought in another, providing that, in case of his

The two Houses engage in an association for the defence of his majesty.

majesty's death, the Parliament then in being should continue until dissolved by the next heir in succession to the crown, established by act of Parliament: that if his majesty should chance to die between two Parliaments, that which had been last dissolved should immediately reassemble, and sit for the despatch of national affairs. They voted an address, to desire that his majesty would banish, by proclamation, all Papists to the distance of ten miles from the cities of London and Westminster; and give instructions to the judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution against Roman Catholics and nonjurors. They drew up an association, binding themselves to assist each other in support of the king and his government, and to revenge any violence that should be committed on his person. This was signed by all the members then present; but, as some had absented themselves on frivolous pretences, the House ordered, that in sixteen days the absentees should either subscribe or declare their refusal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction within the limited time, the speaker was ordered to write to those who were in the country, and demand a peremptory answer; and the clerk of the House attended such as pretended to be ill in town. The absentees, finding themselves pressed in this manner, thought proper to sail with the stream, and sign the association, which was presented to the king by the Commons in a body, with a request that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The king received them with uncommon complacency; declared that he heartily entered into the same association; that he should be always ready to venture his life with his good subjects, against all who should endeavour to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promised that this, and all other associations, should be lodged among the records in the Tower of London. Next day the Commons resolved, that whoever should affirm an association was illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of the late King James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The Lords followed the example of the Lower House in drawing up an association; but the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words rightful and lawful, as applied to his majesty. They said, as the crown and its prerogatives were vested in him, they would yield

obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful king. Nothing could be more absurd than this distinction, started by men who had actually constituted part of the administration; unless they supposed that the right of King William expired with Queen Mary. The Earl of Rochester proposed an expedient in favour of such tender consciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the peers, and ninety-two commoners, signed the association with reluctance. It was, however, subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the bishops drew up a form for the clergy, which was signed by a great majority. The Commons brought in a bill declaring all men incapable of public trust, or of sitting in Parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the council issued an order for renewing all the commissions in England, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from the service as disaffected persons.

Barnet.  
Oldmixon.  
Boyer.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.

After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the Commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds should be raised, and it was called the land-bank, because established on land securities. This scheme, said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlain, was patronized by the Earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley; so that it seemed to be a tory plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party.\* The bank of Eng-

Establishment of a land-bank.

An. 1696.

\* The Commons resolved, that a fund, redeemable by Parliament, be settled in a national land-bank, to be raised by new subscriptions; that no persons be concerned in both banks at the same time; that the duties upon coal, culm, and tonnage of ships be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March; that the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds be raised on this perpetual fund, redeemable by Parliament; that the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land securities, or to the government in the exchequer; that for making up the fund of interest for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass-ware, stone and earthen bottles, granted before to the king for a term of years, be continued to his majesty, his heirs and successors; that a further duty be laid upon stone and earthenware, and another upon tobacco-pipes. This bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a year upon land securities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full by the first day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these: an act for voiding all the elections of Parliament-men, at which the elected had been at any expense in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. Another against unlawful and double returns. A third, for the more easy recovery of small tithes. A fourth, to prevent marriages without licence or banns. A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to dispose of all their

land petitioned against this bill, and were heard by their counsel; but their representations produced no effect, and the bill, having passed through both Houses, received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh day of April the king closed the session with a short but gracious speech; and the Parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth day of June.

Before this period some of the conspirators had been brought to trial. The first who suffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen-college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the Protestant religion: the next were Lieutenant King and Thomas Keys, which last had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late servant to Captain Porter. They were found guilty of high treason, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the sheriff, in which they solemnly declared, that they had never seen or heard of any commission from King James for assassinating the Prince of Orange: Charnock, in particular, observed, that he had received frequent assurances of the king's having rejected such proposals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commission but that for levying war in the usual form. Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were tried in April. The first, from mean beginnings, had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the interest of King James. The other was likewise a man of fortune, violently attached to the same principles, though he had taken the oaths to the present government, as one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter, and Blair, another evidence, deposed that Sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commission from King James; and that he knew of the assassination plot, though not engaged in it as a personal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the most shocking ingratitude. He observed, that both the evidences were reputed Papists. The curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the pri-

personal estates as they should think fit: this law was in bar of a custom that had prevailed in that country: the widows and younger children claimed a share of the effects, called the reasonable part, although the effects had otherwise been disposed of by will or deed. The Parliament likewise passed an act for preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation thereof from Ireland. An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. An act for regulating juries. An act for encouraging the Greenland trade. An act of indulgence to the quakers, that their solemn affirmation should be accepted instead of an oath. And an act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had passed for the better regulating elections for members of Parliament: but the royal assent was denied. The question was put in the House of Commons, that whosoever advised his majesty not to give his assent to that bill was an enemy to his country; but it was rejected by a great majority.



soner's house, declared upon oath, that after the Revolution, he used to pray for King William; and that he had often heard Sir John Friend say, that though he could not comply with the present government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conspiracy. Mr. Hoadly, father of the present Bishop of Winchester, added, that the prisoner was a good Protestant, and frequently expressed his detestation of king-killing principles. Friend himself owned he had been with some of the conspirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-street, but heard nothing of raising men, or any design against the government. He likewise affirmed, that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that his being at a treasonable consult could amount to no more than a misprision of treason. Lord Chief Justice Holt declared, that although a bare conspiracy, or design to levy war, was not treason within the statute of Edward III., yet if the design or conspiracy be to kill, or depose, or imprison the king, by the means of levying war, then the consultation and conspiracy to levy war becomes high treason, though no war be actually levied. The same inference might have been drawn against the authors and instruments of the Revolution. The judge's explanation influenced the jury, who, after some deliberation, found the prisoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the testimony of Porter, Ewebank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invasion, but also in the design against the king's life. The evidence was scanty, and the prisoner, having been bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence: but the judge acted as counsel for the crown; and the jury decided by the hints they received from the bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the sentence of death, and suffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend protested before God, that he knew of no immediate descent purposed by King James, and therefore had made no preparations: that he was utterly ignorant of the assassination scheme: that he died in the communion of the church of England, and laid down his life cheerfully in the cause for which he suffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenor of the king's commission, which he saw, was general, directed to all his loving subjects, to raise and levy war against the Prince of Orange and his adherents, and to seize all forts, castles, &c., but that he neither saw nor heard of

any commission particularly levelled against the person of the Prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the design; but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. These two criminals were in their last moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who absolved them in the view of the populace with an imposition of hands; a public insult on the government, which did not pass unnoticed. Those three clergymen were presented by the grand jury, for having countenanced the treason by absolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other persons to disturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred against them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier absconded, and published a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the imposition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans and twelve other bishops subscribed a declaration, condemning the administration of absolution without a previous confession made, and abhorrence expressed, by the prisoners of the heinous crimes for which they suffered.

In the course of the same month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conspirators, by a special commission, in the King's Bench; and convicted on the joint testimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fisher, and Pendergrass. Some favourable circumstances appeared in the case of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the design against the king's life was very defective; many persons of reputation declared he was an honest, good-natured, inoffensive man; and he himself concluded his defence with the most solemn protestation of his own innocence. Great intercession was made for his pardon by some noblemen; but all their interest proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a transport of indignation, leaving a paper, which the government thought proper to suppress. Lowick and Rookwood likewise delivered declarations to the sheriff, the contents of which, as being less inflammatory, were allowed to be published. Both solemnly denied any knowledge of a commission from King James to assassinate the Prince of Orange; the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting such an order; and the other asserting, that he, the best of kings, had often rejected proposals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the king at his

landing ; but declared, he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole course of his life. On the contrary, he said he had endeavoured to prevent bloodshed as much as lay in his power ; and that he would not kill the most miserable creature in the world, even though such an act would save his life, restore his sovereign, and make him one of the greatest men in England. Rookwood alleged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the service was much against his judgment and inclination. He professed his abhorrence of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the Prince of Orange, who as a soldier, he said, ought to have considered his case before he signed his death-warrant : he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him sensible of the blood that was from all parts crying against him, so that he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next person brought to trial was Mr. Cooke, son of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the six clerks in Chancery. Porter and Goodman deposed, that he had been present at two meetings at the King's-head tavern in Leadenhall-street, with the Lords Aylesbury and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the testimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who swore that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were present. The prisoner himself solemnly protested, that he was ever averse to the introduction of foreign forces ; that he did not so much as hear of the intended invasion, until it became the common topic of conversation ; and that he had never seen Goodman at the King's-head. He declared his intention of receiving the blessed sacrament, and wished he might perish in the instant, if he now spoke untruth. No respect was paid to these asseverations. The Solicitor-General Hawles, and Lord Chief Justice Treby, treated him with great severity in the prosecution and charge to the jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation, the court-agents tampered with him to make further discoveries : and after his fate had been protracted by divers short reprieves, he was sent into banishment. From the whole tenor of these discoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invasion ; that his partisans in England had made preparations for joining him on his

arrival ; that a few desperadoes of that faction had concerted a scheme against the life of King William ; that in prosecuting the conspirators, the court had countenanced informers ; that the judges had strained the law, wrested circumstances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the prisoners : in a word, that the administration had used the same arbitrary and unfair practices against those unhappy people, which they themselves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom.

The warmth, however, manifested on this occasion may have been owing to national resentment of the proposed invasion. Certain it is, the two Houses of Parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation against France at this juncture. The Lords besought his majesty, in a solemn address, to appoint a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpose of his enemies ; and this was observed with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Russel, leaving a squadron for observation on the French coast, returned to the Downs ; but Sir Cloudesley Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, subjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was set on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation. The generals of the allied army in Flanders resolved to make some immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly design upon the life of King William, as they took it for granted that Louis was accessory to the scheme of assassination. That monarch, on the supposition that a powerful diversion would be made by the descent on England, had established a vast magazine at Givet, designing, when the allies should be enfeebled by the absence of the British troops, to strike some stroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the Earl of Athlone and Monsieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the Duke of Holstein-Ploen, who commanded the allies, sent a strong detachment of horse, drafted from Brussels and the neighbouring garrisons, to amuse the enemy on the side of Charleroy ; while they assembled forty squadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body invested Dinant,

The allies  
burn the  
magazine  
at Givet.

while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two generals, joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the republic of Venice had deferred acknowledging King William; but now they sent an extraordinary embassy for that purpose, consisting of Signiors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the first day of May had a public audience. The king, on this occasion, knighted Soranzo as the senior ambassador, and presented him with the sword according to custom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the same regency which had governed the kingdom during his last absence; and embarking on the seventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder in the evening, under convoy of Vice-Admiral Aylmer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a squadron, as the famous Du Bart still continued at Dunkirk, and some attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterprising genius.<sup>4</sup>

The French had taken the field before the allied army could be assembled; but no transaction of consequence distinguished this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The scheme of Louis was still defensive on the side of the Netherlands, while the active plans of King William were defeated for want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective: the land-bank failed, and the national-bank sustained a rude shock in its credit. The loss of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions two hundred thousand pounds; and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not for some months supply the circulation, especially as great part of the new money was kept up by those who received it in payment, or disposed of it at an unreasonable advantage. The French king, having exhausted the wealth and patience of his subjects, and greatly diminished their number in the course of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the arts of private negotiation. While his minister D'Avaux

Louis the Fourteenth makes advances towards a peace with Holland.

<sup>4</sup> Some promotions were made before the king left England. George Hamilton, third son of the duke of that name, was, for his military services in Ireland and Flanders, created Earl of Orkney. Sir John Lowther was ennobled by the title of Baron Lowther and Viscount Lonsdale; Sir John Thompson made Baron of Haversham; and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the commissioners of trade and plantation.

pressed the King of Sweden to offer his mediation, he sent Callieres to Holland, with proposals for settling the preliminaries of a treaty. He took it for granted, that as the Dutch were a trading people, whose commerce had greatly suffered in the war, they could not be averse to a pacification; and he instructed his emissaries to tamper with the malecontents of the republic, especially with the remains of the Louvestein faction, which had always opposed the schemes of the stadtholder. Callieres met with a favourable reception from the states, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the consent and concurrence of King William and the rest of the allies. Louis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negotiation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his general, the Duke de Vendome, attacked and worsted the Spaniards in their camp near Ostalrick, though the action was not decisive; for that general was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts against their entrenchments. On the twentieth day of June, Mareschal de Lorges passed the Rhine at Philipsburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the imperial troops were obliged to entrench themselves, under the command of the Prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French general, after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repossess the river. Then he detached a body of horse to Flanders, and cantoned the rest of his troops at Spire, Franckendahl, Worms, and Ostofen. On the last day of August, the Prince of Baden retaliated the insult, by passing the Rhine at Mentz and Cocsheim. On the tenth he was joined by General Thungen, who commanded a separate body, together with the militia of Suabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had reassembled; but they were posted in such a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Having, therefore, cannonaded them for some days, scoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little castle of Wiezengen, he repossessed the river at Worms, on the seventh day of October: the French likewise crossed at Philipsburgh, in hopes of surprising General Thungen, who had taken post in the neighbourhood of Strasburgh; but he retired to Eppingen before their arrival, and in a little time both armies were distributed in winter quarters. Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, carried on the siege of Azoph with such

vigour, that the garrison was obliged to capitulate, after the Russians had defeated a great convoy sent to its relief. The court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muscovite emperor; but they did not exert themselves in taking advantage of the disaster which the Turks had undergone. The imperial army, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Marosch till the nineteenth day of July, then they made a feint of attacking Temiswaer; but they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiving advice that the grand signor intended to besiege Titul. On the twenty-first day of August the two armies were in sight of each other. The Turkish horse attacked the imperialists in a plain near the river Begue, but were repulsed. The Germans next day made a show of retreating, in hopes of drawing the enemy from their entrenchments. The stratagem succeeded. On the twenty-sixth, the Turkish army was in motion. A detachment of the imperialists attacked them in flank, as they marched through a wood. A very desperate action ensued, in which the Generals Heusler and Poland, with many other gallant officers, lost their lives. At length the Ottoman horse were routed; but the Germans were so roughly handled, that on the second day after the engagement they retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their entrenchments.

In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a strange alteration. The Duke of Savoy, who had for some time been engaged in a secret negotiation with France, at length embraced the offers of that crown, and privately signed a separate treaty of peace at Loretto, to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French king engaged to present him with four millions of livres, by way of reparation for the damage he had sustained; to assist him with a certain number of auxiliaries against all his enemies; and to effect a marriage between the Duke of Burgundy and the Princess of Piedmont, as soon as the parties should be marriageable. The treaty was guaranteed by the pope and the Venetians, who were extremely desirous of seeing the Germans driven out of Italy. King William, being apprised of this negotiation, communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Galway, his ambassador at Turin, who expostulated with the duke upon this defection; but he persisted in denying any such corre-

He detaches the Duke of Savoy from the confederacy.

spondence, until the advance of the French army enabled him to avow it without fearing the resentment of the allies whom he had abandoned. Catinat marched into the plains of Turin, at the head of fifty thousand men; an army greatly superior to that of the confederates. Then the duke imparted to the ministers of the allies the proposals which France had made; represented the superior strength of her army; the dangers to which he was exposed; and finally his inclination to embrace her offers. On the twelfth of July a truce was concluded for a month, and afterwards prolonged till the fifteenth of September. He wrote to all the powers engaged in the confederacy, except King William, expatiating on the same topics, and soliciting their consent. Though each in particular refused to concur, he on the twenty-third day of August signed the treaty in public, which he had before concluded in private. The emperor was no sooner informed of his design, than he took every step which he thought could divert him from his purpose. He sent the Count Mansfelt to Turin, with proposals for a match between the King of the Romans and the Princess of Savoy, as well as with offers to augment his forces and his subsidy; but the duke had already settled his terms with France, from which he would not recede. Prince Eugene, though his kinsman, expressed great indignation at his conduct. The young Prince de Commercy was so provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to single combat, and the duke accepted his challenge; but the quarrel was compromised by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use: but Lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milanese, for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service. King William was encamped at Gemblours when the duke's envoy notified the separate peace which his master had concluded with the King of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he dissembled his anger, and listened to the minister without the least emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that within a limited time the allies should evacuate the duke's dominions, otherwise



they should be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the confederates: and this being rejected, the contracting powers resolved to attack the Milanese. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generalissimo of the French king, entered that duchy, and undertook the siege of Valentia, so that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garrison of Valentia, consisting of seven thousand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French Protestants, made an obstinate defence; and the Duke of Savoy prosecuted the siege with uncommon impetuosity. But after the trenches had been open for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his Catholic Majesty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. The agreement imported that there should be a suspension of arms until a general peace could be effected; and that the imperial and French troops should return to their respective countries. Christendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieski, King of Poland, who died at the age of seventy, in the course of this summer, after having survived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition arose for the succession. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe interested themselves warmly in the contention.

Nothing of consequence had been lately achieved by the naval force of England. When the conspiracy was first discovered, Sir George Rooke had received Naval transactions. orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the Board of Admiralty, Lord Berkeley succeeded to the command of the fleet; and in the month of June set sail towards Ushant, in order to insult the coast of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the islands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty vessels; bombarded St. Martin's on the isle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne, which was set on fire in fifteen different places with the shells and carcasses. Though these appear to have been enterprises of small import, they certainly kept the whole coast of France in perpetual alarm. The ministry of that kingdom were so much afraid of invasion, that between Brest and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected, and above sixty thousand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. In

the month of May, Rear-Admiral Benbow sailed with a small squadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that famous adventurer found means to escape in a fog, and steering to the eastward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltic, under a convoy of five frigates. These last he took, together with half the number of the trading ships; but falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ships of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes, except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk.

The Parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September; and Lord Murray, secretary of state, now Earl of Tullibardine, presided as king's commissioner. Though that kingdom was exhausted by the war, and two successive bad harvests, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no opposition to the court measures. The members of Parliament signed an association like that of England. They granted a supply of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for maintaining their forces by sea and land. They passed an act for securing their religion, lives, and properties, in case his majesty should come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all persons in public trust to sign the association; and then the Parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The disturbances of Ireland seemed now to be entirely appeased. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII., elected the chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, to be lord justice and chief governor of that kingdom, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The Parliament met in June: the Commons expelled Mr. Sanderson, the only member of that House who had refused to sign the association; and adjourned to the fourth day of August. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were appointed lords justices, and signified the king's pleasure that they should adjourn. In the beginning of December the chancellor died of an apoplexy.

King William, being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of August repaired to his palace at Loo, where he enjoyed his favourite exercise of stag-hunting.

Proceed-  
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He visited the court of Brandenburg at Cleves; conferred with the States of Holland at the Hague; and embarking for England, landed at Margate on the sixth day of October. The domestic economy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the sinking of public credit, and the stagnation that necessarily attended a recoinage. These grievances were with difficulty removed by the clear apprehension, the enterprising genius, the unshaken fortitude of Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, operating upon a national spirit of adventure, which the monied interest had produced. The king opened the session of Parliament on the twentieth day of October with a speech, importing, that overtures had been made for a negotiation; but that the best way of treating with France would be sword in hand. He, therefore, desired they would be expeditious in raising the supplies for the service of the ensuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared that the civil list could not be supported without their assistance. He recommended the miserable condition of the French Protestants to their compassion. He desired they would contrive the best expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He observed, that unanimity and despatch were now more than ever necessary for the honour, safety, and advantage of England. The Commons, having taken this speech into consideration, resolved that they would support his majesty and his government, and assist him in the prosecution of the war: that the standard of gold and silver should not be altered: and, that they would make good all parliamentary funds. Then they presented an address, in a very spirited strain, declaring, that notwithstanding the blood and treasure of which the nation had been drained, the Commons of England would not be diverted from their firm resolutions of obtaining by war a safe and honourable peace. They, therefore, renewed their assurances, that they would support his majesty against all his enemies at home and abroad. The House of Lords delivered another to the same purpose, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be necessary to his majesty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Christendom. The Commons, in the first transports of their zeal, ordered two seditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common

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hangman. They deliberated upon the estimates, and granted above six millions for the service of the ensuing year. They resolved that a supply should be granted for making good the deficiency of parliamentary funds; and appropriated several duties for this purpose.

With respect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half guineas, as the extravagant price of those coins, which occasioned this act, was now fallen. They passed a second bill for remedying the ill state of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the preceding session, for laying duties on low wines and spirits of the first extraction. In order to raise the supplies of the year, they resolved to tax all persons according to the true value of their real and personal estates, their stock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, pensions, and professions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all persons not receiving alms. A further imposition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all servants receiving four pounds per annum as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds were taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the Commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burden. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eight-pence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities and moneys borrowed on the credit of the exchequer, were transferred to this aid. The treasury was enabled to borrow a million and a half at eight per cent., and to circulate exchequer bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three shilling aid, was appropriated. The Commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoinng the hammered money, and the recompense for bringing in plate to the mint. This sum was raised by a tax or duty upon wrought plate, paper,

Resolutions touching the coin, and the support of public credit.

pasteboard, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services and the present languishing state of the bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, that it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in bank bills or notes: that effectual provision should be made by Parliament for paying the principal of all such tallies as should be subscribed into the bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued: that an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such tallies: and, that the continuance of the bank should be prolonged to the first day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten. That all assignments of orders on tallies subscribed into the bank should be registered in the exchequer: that, before the day should be fixed for the beginning of the new subscriptions, the old should be made one hundred per cent., and what might exceed that value should be divided among the old members: that all the interest due on those tallies which might be subscribed into the bank stock at the time appointed for subscriptions, to the end of the last preceding quarter on each tally, should be allowed as principal: that liberty should be given by Parliament to enlarge the number of bank bills, to the value of the sum that should be so subscribed, over and above the twelve hundred thousand pounds; provided they should be obliged to answer such bills on demand; and in default thereof, be answered by the exchequer out of the first money due to them: that no other bank should be erected or allowed by act of Parliament, during the continuance of the bank of England: that this should be exempted from all tax or imposition: that no act of the corporation should forfeit the particular interest of any person concerned therein: that provision should be made to prevent the officers of the exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obstructing the course of payments to the bank: that care should be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any bank bills or notes: that the estate and interest of each member in the stock of the corporation should be made a personal estate: that no contract made for any bank stock to be bought or sold should be valid in law or equity, unless actually registered in the bank books within seven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days, after the contract should be made. A bill

upon these resolutions was brought in, under the direction of the chancellor of the exchequer: it related to the continuation of tonnage and poundage upon wine, vinegar, and tobacco; and comprehended a clause for laying an additional duty upon salt, for two years and three quarters. All the several branches constituted a general fund, since known by the name of the general mortgage, without prejudice to their former appropriations. The bill also provided, that the tallies should bear eight per cent. interest: that from the tenth of June, for five years, they should bear no more than six per cent. interest; and, that no premium or discount upon them should be taken. In case of the general funds proving insufficient to pay the whole interest, it was provided, that every proprietor should receive his proportion of the product, and the deficiency be made good from the next aid; but should the fund produce more than the interest, the surplus was destined to operate as a sinking fund for the discharge of the principal. In order to make up a deficiency of above eight hundred thousand pounds, occasioned by the failure of the land-bank, additional duties were laid upon leather: the time was enlarged for persons to come in and purchase the annuities payable by several former acts, and to obtain more certain interest in such annuities.

Never were more vigorous measures taken to support the credit of the government; and never was the government served by such a set of enterprising undertakers. The Commons having received a message from the king, touching the condition of the civil list, resolved, that a sum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thousand pounds should be granted for the support of the civil list for the ensuing year, to be raised by a malt-tax, and additional duties upon mum, sweets, cider, and perry. They likewise resolved, that an additional aid of one shilling in the pound should be laid upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Provision was made for raising one million four hundred thousand pounds by a lottery. The treasury was empowered to issue an additional number of exchequer bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thousand pounds, every hundred pounds bearing interest at the rate of five-pence a day, and ten per cent. for circulation: finally, in order to liquidate the transport debt, which the funds established for that purpose had not been sufficient to defray, a money bill was brought in, to oblige pedlars and

Enormous  
imposi-  
tions.

hawkers to take out licences, and pay for them at certain stated prices. One cannot without astonishment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occasion, or consider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raised up by usurers and extortioners, from the distresses of their country. The nation did not seem to know its own strength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds succeeded so well, that later ministers have proceeded in the same system, imposing burden upon burden, as if they thought the sinews of the nation could never be overstrained.

The public credit being thus bolstered up by the singular address of Mr. Montague, and the bills passed for the supplies of the ensuing year, the attention of the Commons was transferred to the case of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being seized, the letter was found, containing such a confession as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was sent abroad to his majesty. He made no discoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring testimonies, appeared to be divided into two parties, known by the names of compounders and noncompounders. The first, headed by the Earl of Middleton, insisted upon receiving security from King James, that the religion and liberties of England should be preserved: whereas the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, resolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generosity. King William having sent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unless he should make more material discoveries, the prisoner, with a view to amuse the ministry, until he could take other measures for his own safety, accused the Earls of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russel, of having made their peace with King James, and engaged to act for his interest. Meanwhile his lady and relations tampered with the two witnesses, Porter and Goodman. The first of these discovered those practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for Lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of subornation, fined,

Sir John  
Fenwick is  
appre-  
hended.

and set in the pillory : but they had succeeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who disappeared ; so that one witness only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Russel acquainted the House of Commons, that he and several persons of quality had been reflected upon in some informations of Sir John Fenwick ; he therefore desired that he might have an opportunity to justify his own character. Mr. Secretary Trumball produced the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered that Sir John Fenwick should be brought to the bar of the House. There he was exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery ; which, however, he declined, except with the proviso that he should first receive some security that what he might say should not prejudice himself. He was ordered to withdraw, until they should have deliberated on his request. Then he was called in again, and the speaker told him, he might deserve the favour of the House by making a full discovery. He desired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himself, and promised to obey the command of the House. This favour being denied, he again insisted upon having security ; which they refusing to grant, he chose to be silent, and was dismissed from the bar. The House voted, that his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of several noblemen, members of the House, and others, upon hearsay, were false and scandalous, contrived to undermine the government, and create jealousies between the king and his subjects, in order to stifle the conspiracy.

A motion being made for leave to bring in a bill to attaint him of high treason, a warm debate ensued, and the question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furnished with a copy of the bill, and allowed the use of pen, ink, paper, and counsel. When he presented a petition, praying that his counsel might be heard against passing the bill, they made an order, that his counsel should be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the House : so that he was surprised into an irregular trial, instead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their passing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the House ; and the bill being read in his hearing, the speaker called upon the king's counsel to open the evidence. The prisoner's counsel objected to their proceeding to trial, alleging, that their client had not received the

A bill of attainder being brought into the House against him, produces violent debates.



least notice of their purpose, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reasons against the bill. The House, after a long debate, resolved, that he should be allowed further time to produce witnesses in his defence; that the counsel for the king should likewise be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treasons of which he stood indicted; and an order was made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In pursuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found against him by the grand jury was produced; and Porter was examined as an evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read; and one Roe testified, that Dighton, the prisoner's solicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to discredit the testimony of Goodman. The king's counsel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the council, might be read. Sir J. Powis, and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the prisoner's counsel, warmly opposed this proposal: they affirmed, that a deposition, taken when the party affected by it was not present to cross-examine the deposer, could not be admitted in a case of five shillings value: that though the House was not bound by the rules of inferior courts, it was nevertheless bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of justice: that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in such a case, but that of living witnesses; and that the examination of a person who is absent was never read to supply his testimony. The dispute between the lawyers on this subject gave rise to a very violent debate among the members of the House. Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Manly, Sir Christopher Musgrave, and all the leaders of the tory party, argued against the hardship and injustice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonstrated, that it would be a step contrary to the practice of all courts of judicature, repugnant to the common notions of justice and humanity, diametrically opposite to the last act for regulating trials in cases of high treason, and of dangerous consequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, Lord Cutts, Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Mr. Montague, Mr. Smith, of the treasury, and Trevor, the attorney-general, affirmed, that the House was not bound by any form of law whatsoever: that this was an extraordinary case, in which the safety of the government was deeply concerned: that though the common

law might require two evidences in cases of treason, the House had a power of deviating from those rules in extraordinary cases: that there was no reason to doubt of Sir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conspiracy: that he or his friends had tampered with Porter: and that there were strong presumptions to believe the same practices had induced Goodman to abscond. In a word, the tories, either from party or patriotism, strenuously asserted the cause of liberty and humanity, by those very arguments which had been used against them in the former reigns; while the whigs, with equal violence and more success, espoused the dictates of arbitrary power and oppression, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length the question was put, whether or not the information of Goodman should be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-three voices. Then two of the grand jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: lastly, the king's counsel insisted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the same conspiracy. The prisoner's counsel objected, that, if such evidence was admitted, the trial of one person in the same company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, should be prepared to answer the charge against Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the whigs obtained a second victory. The record was read, and the king's counsel proceeded to call some of the jury who served on Cooke's trial, to affirm that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholomew Shower said, he would submit it to the consideration of the House, whether it was just that the evidence against one person should conclude against another, standing at a different bar, in defence of his life? The parties were again ordered to withdraw; and from this point arose a third debate, which ended as the two former, to the disadvantage of the prisoner. The jury being examined, Mr. Serjeant Gould moved, that Mr. Vernon might be desired to produce the intercepted letter from Sir John Fenwick to his lady. The prisoner's counsel warmly opposed this motion, insisting upon their proving it to be his hand-writing before it could be used against him; and no further stress was laid on this evidence. When they were called upon to

enter on his defence, they pleaded incapacity to deliver matters of such importance after they had been fatigued with twelve hours' attendance.

The House resolved to hear such evidence as the prisoner had to produce that night. His counsel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy <sup>His defence.</sup> of a record; and the second resolution was, that he should be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He observed, that the bill under consideration affected the lives of the subjects; and such precedents were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forthcoming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of justice: that he was actually under process, had pleaded, and was ready to stand trial: that if there was sufficient clear evidence against him, as the king's serjeant had declared, there was no reason for his being deprived of the benefit of such a trial as was the birthright of every British subject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reason for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of such a trial: that the last act for regulating trials in cases of treason proved the great tenderness of the laws which affected the life of the subject; and he expressed his surprise that the very Parliament which had passed that law should enact another for putting a person to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives; and some of them had been reversed in the sequel, as arbitrary and unjust. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not allege or say, that Sir John Fenwick was guilty of the treason for which he had been indicted; a circumstance which prevented him from producing witnesses to that and several matters upon which the king's counsel had expatiated. He said they had introduced evidence to prove circumstances not alleged in the bill, and defective evidence of those that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more severe than to pass sentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiscate his estate, upon parole evidence; especially of such a wretch, who, by his own confession, had been engaged in a crime of the blackest nature, not a convert to the dictates of conscience, but a coward, shrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even

now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He observed, that the indictment mentioned a conspiracy to call in a foreign power ; but, as this conspiracy had not been put in practice, such an agreement was not a sufficient overt-act of treason, according to the opinion of Hawles, the solicitor-general, concerned in this very prosecution. So saying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had published on the cases of Lord Russel, Colonel Sidney, and others, who had suffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (said he) takes notice, that a conspiracy or agreement to levy war is not treason without actually levying war ; a sentiment in which he concurred with Lord Coke, and Lord Chief Justice Hales. He concluded with saying, " We know at present on what ground we stand ; by the statute of Edward III. we know what treason is ; by the two statutes of Edward VI. and the late act, we know what is proof ; by the Magna Charta we know we are to be tried *per legem terræ et per judicium parium*, by the law of the land and the judgment of our peers ; but if bills of attainder come into fashion, we shall neither know what is treason, what is evidence, nor how nor where we are to be tried."—He was seconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who spoke with equal energy and elocution ; and their arguments were answered by the king's counsel. The arguments in favour of the bill imported, that the Parliament would not interpose, except in extraordinary cases ; that here the evidence necessary in inferior courts being defective, the Parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in punishing an offender, who would otherwise escape with impunity ; that as the law stood, he was but a sorry politician that could not ruin the government, and yet elude the statute of treason ; that if a plot, after being discovered, should not be thoroughly prosecuted, it would strengthen and grow upon the administration, and probably at length subvert the government : that it was notorious that parties were forming for King James ; persons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invasion was threatened ; therefore this was a proper time for the Parliament to exert their extraordinary power ; that the English differed from all other nations, in bringing the witnesses and the prisoner face to face, and requiring two witnesses in cases of treason : nor did the English law itself require the same

proof in some cases as in others; for one witness was sufficient in felony, as well as for the treason of coining: that Fenwick was notoriously guilty, and deserved to feel the resentment of the nation: that he would have been brought to exemplary punishment in the ordinary courts of justice, had he not eluded it by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witness. If this reasoning be just, the House of Commons has a right to act in diametrical opposition to the laws in being; and is vested with a despotic power over the lives and fortunes of their constituents, for whose protection they are constituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the possibility of a Parliament debauched by the arts of corruption into servile compliance with the designs of an arbitrary prince, and tremble for the consequence. The debate being finished, the prisoner was, at the desire of Admiral Russel, questioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others from hearsay; but he desired to be excused, on account of the risk he ran, while under a double prosecution, if any thing which should escape him might be turned to his prejudice.

After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the desire of the House, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to pro-  
The bill passes.  
 crastinate the trial. The bill was read a second time; and the speaker asking, if the question should be put for its being committed? the House was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles, the solicitor-general, affirmed, that the House, in the present case, should act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt said, he knew no trial for treason but what was confirmed by *Magna Charta*, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Englishman, or *per legem terræ*, which includes impeachments in Parliament: that it was a strange trial where the person accused had a chance to be hanged, but none to be saved: that he never heard of a jurymen who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witnesses upon oath, and who was not empowered to save the innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttelton was of opinion, that the Parliament ought not to stand upon little niceties and forms of other courts, when the government was at stake. Mr. Howe asserted, that to do a thing of this nature, because the Parliament had power to do it, was a strange way of reasoning: that what was justice and

equity at Westminster-hall, was justice and equity every where: that one bad precedent in Parliament was of worse consequence than a hundred in Westminster-hall, because personal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the Parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, because it could establish tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing against the bill, observed, that the power of Parliament is to make any law, but the jurisdiction of Parliament is to govern itself by the law: to make a law, therefore, against all the laws of England, was the *ultimum remedium et pessimum*, never to be used but in case of absolute necessity. He affirmed that, by this precedent, the House overthrew all the laws of England; first, in condemning a man by one witness; secondly, in passing an act without any trial. The Commons never did nor can assume a jurisdiction of trying any person: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witnesses are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have passed against persons that were dead or fled, or without the compass of the law: some have been brought in after trials in Westminster-hall; but none of those have been called trials, and they were generally reversed. He denied that the Parliament had power to declare any thing treason which was not treason before. When inferior courts were dubious, the case might be brought before the Parliament, to judge whether it was treason or felony; but then they must judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the Parliament by bill, but only in the House of Lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and Colonel Granville, spoke to the same purpose. But their arguments and remonstrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the prisoner was devoted to destruction. The bill was committed, passed, and sent up to the House of Lords, where it produced the longest and warmest debates which had been known since the Restoration. Bishop Burnet signalized his zeal for the government by a long speech in favour of the bill, contradicting some of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of seven voices; and one-and-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a protest, couched in the strongest terms, against the decision.

When the bill received the royal assent, another act of

the like nature passed against Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conspirators who had fled from justice, in case they should not surrender themselves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing. Sir John Fenwick solicited the mediation of the Lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The peers gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend upon the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for a pardon; and they insisted upon his depending on their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which last he at length chose to undergo, rather than incur the disgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the axe, in consideration of his rank and alliance with the house of Howard, and suffered on Tower-hill with great composure. In the paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he took God to witness, that he knew not of the intended invasion, until it was the common subject of discourse; nor was he engaged in any shape for the service of King James. He thanked those noble and worthy persons who had opposed his attainder in Parliament; protested before God, that the information he gave to the ministry he had received in letters and messages from France; and observed that he might have expected mercy from the Prince of Orange, as he had been instrumental in saving his life, by preventing the execution of a design which had been formed against it; a circumstance which in all probability induced the late conspirators to conceal their purpose of assassination from his knowledge. He professed his loyalty to King James, and prayed Heaven for his speedy restoration.

Sir John  
Fenwick is  
beheaded.

While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the Earl of Monmouth had set on foot some practices against the Duke of Shrewsbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to Sir William Perkins, had been entertained as a spy by this nobleman, who, finding his intelligence of very little use or importance, dismissed him as a troublesome dependant. Then he had recourse to the Earl of Monmouth, into whom he infused unfavourable sentiments of the duke; insinuating, that he had made great discoveries, which, from sinister motives, were suppressed. Monmouth communicated those impressions to the Earl of Portland, who enlisted Smith as one of his intelligencers.

1697.  
The Earl of  
Monmouth  
sent to the  
Tower.

Copies of the letters he had sent to the Duke of Shrewsbury were delivered to Secretary Trumball, sealed up for the perusal of his majesty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the Duke of Shrewsbury in his discoveries, the Earl of Monmouth resolved to seize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the channel of the Duchess of Norfolk, exhorted Lady Fenwick to prevail upon her husband to persist in his accusation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the proposal with disdain, as a scandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was so incensed at his refusal, that when the bill of attainder appeared in the House of Lords, he spoke in favour of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew, the Earl of Carlisle, to move the House that Sir John might be examined touching any advices that had been sent to him, with relation to his discoveries. Fenwick, being interrogated accordingly, gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's scheme, which was calculated to ruin the Duke of Shrewsbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The Duchess of Norfolk and a confidant were examined, and confirmed the detection. The House called for Smith's letters, which were produced by Sir William Trumball. The Earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and dismissed from all his employments. He was released, however, at the end of the session; and the court made up all his losses in private, lest he should be tempted to join the opposition.

The whigs, before they were glutted with the sacrifice of Fenwick, had determined to let loose their vengeance upon Sir George Rooke, who was a leader in the opposite interest. Sir Cloudesley Shovel had been sent with a squadron to look into Brest, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a descent upon England: but this information was false. They were busy in equipping an armament for the West Indies, under the command of M. Pointis, who actually sailed to the coast of New Spain, and took the city of Carthage. Rooke had been ordered to intercept the Toulon squadron in its way to Brest; but his endeavours miscarried. The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, resolved to inquire why this fleet was not intercepted; Rooke underwent a long examina-

Inquiry  
into mis-  
carriages  
by sea.



tion, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewise examined; but nothing appearing to the prejudice of the admiral, the House thought proper to desist from their prosecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact several laws for regulating the domestic economy of the nation: among others they passed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors, in cases of escape, and for preventing abuses in prisons and pretended privileged places. Ever since the Reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been sanctuaries during the prevalence of the popish religion, afforded asylums to debtors, and were become receptacles of desperate persons, who presumed to set the law at defiance. One of these places, called Whitefriars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage; but this law was so vigorously put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the district, which was soon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the sixteenth day of April, the king closed the session with a short speech, thanking the Parliament for the great supplies they had so cheerfully granted, and expressing his satisfaction at the measures they had taken for retrieving the public credit. Before he quitted the kingdom, he ventured to produce upon the scene the Earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto prompted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now sworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of lord-chamberlain, which had been resigned by the Earl of Dorset, a nobleman of elegant talents and invincible indolence; severe and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to excess, in his commerce with individuals.

William, having made some promotions,\* and appointed a regency, embarked on the twenty-sixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negotiation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were settled between Callieres, the French minister, and Mr. Dykveldt, in behalf of the

Burnet.  
Kennet.  
Oldmixon.  
State  
Trials.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.

Negotia-  
tions at  
Ryswick.

\* Somers was created a baron, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England: Admiral Russel was dignified with the title of Earl of Orford. In February the Earl of Aylesbury, who had been committed on account of the conspiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to Lord Montgomery, who had been imprisoned in Newgate on the same account.

States-General, who resolved, in consequence of the concessions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not satisfied with those concessions; yet his imperial majesty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Westphalia should be re-established; and provided the King of Sweden would engage to join his troops with those of the allies, in case France should break through this stipulation. This proposal being delivered, the ministers of England and Holland at Vienna presented a joint memorial, pressing his imperial majesty to accept the mediation without reserve, and name a place at which the congress might be opened. The emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February, all the ministers of the allies, except the ambassador of Spain, agreed to the proposal; and next day signified their assent in form to M. Lillienroot, the Swedish plenipotentiary. Spain demanded as a preliminary, that France should agree to restore all the places mentioned in a long list, which the minister of that crown presented to the assembly. The emperor proposed, that the congress should be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Franckfort, or some other town in Germany. The other allies were more disposed to negotiate in Holland. At length the French king suggested, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to King William, called Newbourghouse, situated between the Hague and Delft, close to the village of Ryswick; and to this proposition the ministers agreed. Those of England were the Earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joseph Williamson: France sent Harley and Crecy to the assistance of Callieres. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the misery in which it had involved his kingdom; but, in desiring a peace, he was actuated by another motive. The King of Spain had been for some time in a very ill state of health, and the French monarch had an eye to the succession. This aim could not be accomplished while the confederacy subsisted; therefore he eagerly sought a peace that he might at once turn his whole power against Spain, as soon as Charles should expire. The emperor harboured the same design upon the Spanish crown, and for that reason interested himself in the continuance of the grand alliance.

Besides, he foresaw he should in a little time be able to act against France with an augmented force. The Czar of Muscovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raise the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made some progress in a negotiation with the circles of the Rhine for a considerable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of securing a barrier in the Netherlands. King William insisted upon the French king's acknowledging his title; and the English nation wished for nothing so much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Callieres, in the name of his master, agreed to the following preliminaries: that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the basis of this negotiation; that Strasbourg should be restored to the empire, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia since the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant should be ceded to the Bishop of Liège, and all reunion since the treaty of Nimeguen be made void; that the French king should make restitution of Lorraine, and, upon conclusion of the peace, acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King of Great Britain, without condition or reserve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles XI. King of Sweden, who was succeeded by his son Charles, then a minor: but the queen and five senators, whom the late king had by will appointed administrators of the government, resolved to pursue the mediation, and sent a new commission to Lillienroot for that purpose. The ceremonials being regulated with the consent of all parties, the plenipotentiaries of the emperor delivered their master's demands to the mediator, on the twenty-second day of May, and several German ministers gave in the pretensions of the respective princes whom they represented.

Meanwhile, the French king, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, resolved to make his last effort against the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the Prince of Conti to the throne of Poland; an event which would have greatly improved the interest of France in Europe. Louis had got the start of the confederates in Flanders, and sent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The campaign was opened with the siege

The French  
take Bar-  
celona.

of Aeth, which was no sooner invested, than King William, having recovered of an indisposition, took the field, and had an interview with the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded a separate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which surrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but contented himself with taking possession of an advantageous camp, where he covered Brussels, which Villeroy and Boufflers had determined to besiege. In Catalonia, the Duke of Vendome invested Barcelona, in which there was a garrison of ten thousand regular soldiers, besides five thousand burghers, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occasion. The governor of the place was the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who had served in Ireland, and been vested with the command of the imperial troops which were sent into Spain. The French general, being reinforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with surprising impetuosity; and was repulsed in several attacks by the valour of the defendants. At length the enemy surprised and routed the viceroy of Catalonia; and, flushed with this victory, stormed the outworks, which had been long battered with their cannon. The dispute was very bloody and obstinate; but the French, by dint of numbers, made themselves masters of the covered way and two bastions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars, and fired furiously on the town, which, however, the Prince of Hesse resolved to defend to the last extremity. The court of Madrid, however, unwilling to see the place entirely ruined, as in all probability it would be restored at the peace, despatched an order to the prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in consideration of which he was appointed viceroy of the province. France was no sooner in possession of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been before averse to a negotiation.

Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the success of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagena, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an English squadron under Admiral Nevil had arrived in the West Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for

Frutless  
expedition  
of Admiral  
Nevil to  
the West  
Indies.

the straits of Bahama. On the twenty-second day of May he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken; but such was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he escaped, after having been pursued five days, during which the English and Dutch rear-admirals sprang their fore-topmasts, and received other damage, so that they could not proceed. Then Nevil steered to Carthagena, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a second time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their share of the plunder. This was really the case; they had in a great measure contributed to the success of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the English admiral discovered eight sail of their ships, two of which were forced on shore and destroyed, two taken, and the rest escaped. Then he directed his course to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the governor, Sir William Beeston, detached Rear-Admiral Meeze with some ships and forces to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly surprised, burned, and reduced to ashes. After this small expedition, Nevil proceeded to the Havannah, on purpose to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the instructions he had received from the king; but the governor of the place, and the general of the plate-fleet, suspecting such an offer, would neither suffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now sailed through the gulf of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin, and the command of the fleet devolved on Captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twenty-fourth day of October, with a shattered squadron, half manned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis, steering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conceptione, at a time when a stout English squadron, commanded by Commodore Norris, lay at anchor in the bay of St. John. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, at first concluded that it was the squadron of M. Nesmond come to attack him, and exerted his utmost endeavours to put the place in a posture of defence; but, afterwards, understanding that it was Pointis returning with the spoil of Carthagena, he called a council of war, and proposed to go immediately in quest of the enemy. He was, however, overruled by a majority, who gave it as their opinion that they should remain where they were,

without running unnecessary hazard. By virtue of this scandalous determination, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but he had not yet escaped every danger. On the fourteenth day of August he fell in with a squadron under the command of Captain Harlow, by whom he was boldly engaged, till night parted the combatants. He was pursued next day; but his ships sailing better than those of Harlow, he accomplished his escape, and on the morrow entered the harbour of Brest. That his ships, which were foul, should outsail the English squadron, which had just put to sea, was a mystery which the people of England could not explain. They complained of having been betrayed through the whole course of the West Indian expedition. The king owned he did not understand marine affairs, the entire conduct of which he abandoned to Russel, who became proud, arbitrary, and unpopular, and was supposed to be betrayed by his dependants. Certain it is, the service was greatly obstructed by faction among the officers, which with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and misconduct.

The success of the French in Catalonia, Flanders, and the West Indies, was balanced by their disappointment in Poland. Louis, encouraged by the remonstrances of the Abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, resolved to support the Prince of Conti as a candidate for the crown, and remitted great sums of money, which were distributed among the Polish nobility. The emperor had at first declared for the son of the late king; but finding the French party too strong for this competitor, he entered into a negotiation with the Elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to distribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. Having performed these articles, he declared himself a candidate, and was publicly espoused by the imperialists. The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odeschalchi, nephew to Pope Innocent, were likewise competitors; but finding their interest insufficient, they united their influence with that of the elector, who was proclaimed King of Poland. He forthwith took the oath required, procured an attestation from the imperial court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where

The Elector  
of Saxony  
is chosen  
King of  
Poland.

he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Louis persisted in maintaining the pretensions of the Prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magistrates of that city, who had declared for the new king, would not suffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himself with a small retinue. He, therefore, went on shore at Marienburgh, where he was met by some chiefs of his own party; but the new king Augustus acted with such vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army; besides, he suspected the fidelity of his own Polish partisans; he, therefore, refused to part with the treasure he had brought, and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk.

The establishment of Augustus on the throne of Poland was in some measure owing to the conduct of Peter the Czar of Muscovy, who, having formed great designs against the Ottoman Porte, was very unwilling to see the crown of Poland possessed by a partisan of France, which was in alliance with the grand signor. He, therefore, interested himself warmly in the dispute, and ordered his general to assemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the interest of the Prince of Conti, considerably influenced the election. This extraordinary legislator, who was a strange compound of heroism and barbarity, conscious of the defects in his education, and of the gross ignorance that overspread his dominions, resolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment, by travelling; and, that he might be the less restricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curiosity, he determined to travel in disguise. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular of maintaining a fleet in the Black Sea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ship-building. He appointed an embassy for Holland, to regulate some points of commerce with the States-General. Having entrusted the care of his dominions to persons in whom he could confide, he now disguised himself, and travelled as one of their retinue. He first disclosed himself to the Elector of Brandenburg in Prussia, and afterwards to King William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship-carpenter in Holland, whom he served for some months with wonderful patience and assiduity. He

Peter the  
Czar of  
Muscovy  
travels in  
disguise  
with his  
own am-  
bassadors.

afterwards visited England, where he amused himself chiefly with the same kind of occupation. From thence he set out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions that his sister was concerned in managing intrigues against his government, he returned suddenly to Moscow, and found the machinations of the conspirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the administration. His savage nature, however, broke out upon this occasion: he ordered some hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himself with his own hand performing the office of executioner.

The negotiations at Ryswick proceeded very slowly for some time. The imperial minister demanded, that France should make restitution of all the places and dominions she had wrested from the empire since the peace of Munster, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrenees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, these propositions could not be taken into consideration. The imperialists persisted in demanding a circumstantial answer, article by article. The Spaniards insisted upon the same manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch ministers to support their pretensions. The plenipotentiaries of France declared they would not admit any demand or proposition contrary to the preliminary articles; but were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to shorten the negotiations, and the Spanish ambassadors consented to this expedient. During these transactions, the Earl of Portland held a conference with Mareschal Boufflers, near Halle, in sight of the two opposite armies, which was continued in five successive meetings. On the second day of August they retired together to a house in the suburbs of Halle, and mutually signed a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjusted. Next day King William quitted the camp, and retired to his house at Loo, confident of having taken such measures for a pacification as could not be disappointed. The subject of this field negotiation is said to have turned upon the interest of King James, which the French monarch promised to abandon: others however suppose that the first

Proceedings  
in the con-  
gress at  
Ryswick.



foundation of the partition treaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's sole aim was to put an end to an expensive and unsuccessful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had since the queen's death become the subject of dispute. He perceived the emperor's backwardness towards a pacification, and foresaw numberless difficulties in discussing such a complication of interests by the common method of treating; he, therefore, chose such a step as he thought would alarm the jealousy of the allies, and quicken the negotiation at Ryswick. Before the congress was opened, King James had published two manifestoes, addressed to the Catholic and Protestant princes of the confederacy, representing his wrongs, and craving redress; but his remonstrances being altogether disregarded, he afterwards issued a third declaration, solemnly protesting against all that might or should be negotiated, regulated, or stipulated with the usurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French ambassadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the same time, that, should it not be accepted before the last day of August, France would not hold herself bound for the conditions she now offered; but Caunitz, the emperor's plenipotentiary, protested he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of August, however, he delivered to the mediators an ultimatum, importing that he adhered to the treaties of Westphalia and Niméguen, and accepted of Strasbourg with its appurtenances; that he insisted upon the restitution of Lorraine to the prince of that name; and demanded that the church and chapter of Liege should be re-established in the possession of their incontestable rights. Next day the French plenipotentiaries declared, that the month of August being now expired, all their offers were vacated: that, therefore, the King of France would reserve Strasbourg, and unite it, with its dependencies, to his crown for ever; that in other respects he would adhere to the project, and restore Barcelona to the crown of Spain; but that these terms must be accepted in twenty days, otherwise he should think himself at liberty to recede. The ministers of the electors and princes of the empire joined in a written remonstrance to the Spanish plenipotentiaries, representing the inconveniences

and dangers that would accrue to the Germanic body from France's being in possession of Luxembourg, and exhorting them in the strongest terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewise presented another to the States-General, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France should have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of these addresses. Then the imperial ambassadors demanded the good offices of the mediator on certain articles: but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjusting the peace between her and the emperor should be prolonged till the first day of November, and in the mean time an armistice be punctually observed. Yet even these concessions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland should be signed on that day, even though the emperor and empire should not concur.

Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were subscribed by the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French ambassadors, while the imperial ministers protested against the transaction, observing, this was the second time that a separate peace had been concluded with France, and that the states of the empire, who had been imposed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be so easily persuaded to engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles settled between England and France, King William promised to pay a yearly pension to Queen Mary d'Esté of fifty thousand pounds, or such sum as should be established for that purpose by act of Parliament. The treaty itself consisted of seventeen articles. The French king engaged that he would not disturb or disquiet the King of Great Britain in the possession of his realms or government; nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was restored. Commissaries were appointed to meet at London, and settle the pretensions of each crown to Hudson's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the English in the course of the war; and to regulate the limits of the places to be restored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewise stipulated, that, in case of a rupture, six months should be allowed to the subjects of each power for removing their effects: that the separate articles of the

The ambassadors of England, Spain, and Holland sign the treaty.

treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, should be entirely executed, and that the ratifications should be exchanged, in three weeks from the day of signing. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armistice, a perpetual amity, a mutual restitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretensions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-establishment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburg in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, a comprehension of Sweden, and all those powers that should be named before the ratification, or in six months after the conclusion of the treaty. Besides, the Dutch ministers concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reason to be satisfied with the pacification, by which she recovered Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtrai, and all the towns, fortresses, and territories taken by the French in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French : this dispute was left to the decision of commissaries ; or, in case they should not agree, to the determination of the States-General. A remonstrance in favour of the French Protestant refugees in England, Holland, and Germany, was delivered by the Earl of Pembroke to the mediators, in the name of the Protestant allies, on the day that preceded the conclusion of the treaty ; but the French plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their master, that as he did not pretend to prescribe rules to King William about the English subjects, he expected the same liberty with respect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of those conscientious exiles : the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London.

The emperor still held out, and perhaps was encouraged to persevere in his obstinacy by the success of his arms in Hungary, where his general, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the grand signor, who commanded his army in person. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the grand visir, the aga of the janissaries, seven-and-twenty bashaws, and about thirty thousand men, were killed or drowned in the river Theysse ; six thousand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, provision, and ammunition, the grand signor

A general  
pacifica-  
tion.

himself escaping with difficulty : a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great superiority in point of number, and as the imperialists did not lose a thousand men during the whole action. The emperor, perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought proper to make use of the armistice, and continue the negotiation after the forementioned treaties had been signed. This was likewise the case with the princes of the empire ; though those of the Protestant persuasion complained that their interest was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was stipulated, that in the places to be restored by France, the Roman Catholic religion should continue as it had been re-established. The ambassadors of the Protestant princes joined in a remonstrance, demanding, that the Lutheran religion should be restored in those places where it had formerly prevailed ; but this demand was rejected, as being equally disagreeable to France and the emperor. Then they refused to sign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the emperor, and the Catholic princes of the empire. By this pacification, Tiers, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were restored to their respective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the duchy of Deux Ponts, were ceded to the King of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the electorate of Cologn ; and Cardinal Furstemberg restored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the Duchess of Orleans upon the Palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the emperor ; and in the mean time the Elector Palatine agreed to supply her highness with an annuity of one hundred thousand florins. The ministers of the Protestant princes published a formal declaration against the clause relating to religion, and afterwards solemnly protested against the manner in which the negotiation had been conducted. Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burden. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unsatisfied. Nevertheless, he reaped the solid advantage of seeing himself firmly established on the English throne ; and the confederacy, though

not successful in every instance, accomplished their great aim of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge the acquisitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had the allies been true to one another; had they acted from genuine zeal for the common interest of mankind; and prosecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace, despondence, and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William, having finished this important transaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidst the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they must have been infallibly beggared.

## CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF PARTIES.—CHARACTERS OF THE MINISTERS.—THE COMMONS REDUCE THE NUMBER OF STANDING FORCES TO TEN THOUSAND.—THEY ESTABLISH THE CIVIL LIST; AND ASSIGN FUNDS FOR PAYING THE NATIONAL DEBTS.—THEY TAKE COGNIZANCE OF FRAUDULENT ENDORSEMENTS OF EXCHEQUER BILLS.—A NEW EAST INDIA COMPANY CONSTITUTED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST A BOOK WRITTEN BY WILLIAM MOLINEUX OF DUBLIN—AND AGAINST CERTAIN SMUGGLERS OF ALAMODES AND LUSTRINGS FROM FRANCE.—SOCIETY FOR THE REFORMATION OF MANNERS.—THE EARL OF PORTLAND RESIGNS HIS EMPLOYMENTS.—THE KING DISOWNS THE SCOTTISH TRADING COMPANY.—HE EMBARKS FOR HOLLAND.—FIRST TREATY OF PARTITION.—INTRIGUES OF FRANCE AT THE COURT OF MADRID.—KING WILLIAM IS THWARTED BY HIS NEW PARLIAMENT.—HE IS OBLIGED TO SEND AWAY HIS DUTCH GUARDS.—THE COMMONS ADDRESS THE KING AGAINST THE PAPISTS.—THE PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.—THE SCOTTISH COMPANY MAKE A SETTLEMENT ON THE Isthmus OF DARIEN—WHICH, HOWEVER, THEY ARE COMPELLED TO ABANDON.—REMONSTRANCES OF THE SPANISH COURT AGAINST THE TREATY OF PARTITION.—THE COMMONS PERSIST IN THEIR RESOLUTIONS TO MORTIFY THE KING.—INQUIRY INTO THE EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN KIDD.—A MOTION MADE AGAINST BURNET, BISHOP OF SARUM.—INQUIRY INTO THE IRISH FORFEITURES.—THE COMMONS PASS A BILL OF RESUMPTION—AND A SEVERE BILL AGAINST PAPISTS.—THE OLD EAST INDIA COMPANY RE-ESTABLISHED.—DANGEROUS FERMENT IN SCOTLAND.—LORD SOMERS DISMISSED FROM HIS EMPLOYMENTS.—SECOND TREATY OF PARTITION.—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—THE KING SENDS A FLEET INTO THE BALTIC, TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SWEDS.—THE SECOND TREATY OF PARTITION GENERALLY DISAGREEABLE TO THE EUROPEAN POWERS.—THE FRENCH INTEREST PREVAILS AT THE COURT OF SPAIN.—KING WILLIAM FINDS MEANS TO ALLAY THE HEATS IN SCOTLAND.—THE KING OF SPAIN DIES, AFTER HAVING BEQUEATHED HIS DOMINIONS BY WILL TO THE DUKE OF ANJOU.—THE FRENCH KING'S APOLOGY FOR ACCEPTING THE WILL.—THE STATES-GENERAL OWN PHILIP AS KING OF SPAIN.—A NEW MINISTRY AND A NEW PARLIAMENT.—THE COMMONS UNPROFITABLE TO THE COUNTRY.—THE LORDS ARE MORE CONDESCENDING.—AN INTERCEPTED LETTER FROM THE EARL OF MILFORD TO HIS BROTHER.—SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN SETTLED UPON THE PRINCESS SOPHIA, ELECTRESS-DOWAGER OF HANOVER, AND THE PROTESTANT HEIRS OF HER BODY.—THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY PROTESTS AGAINST THIS ACT.—INEFFECTUAL NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.—SEVERE ADDRESSES FROM BOTH HOUSES IN RELATION TO THE PARTITION TREATY.—WILLIAM IS OBLIGED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE KING OF SPAIN.—THE TWO HOUSES SEEM TO ENTER INTO THE KING'S MEASURES.—THE COMMONS RESOLVE TO WREAK THEIR VENGEANCE ON THE OLD MINISTRY.—THE EARLS OF PORTLAND AND OXFORD, THE LORDS SOMERS AND HALIFAX, ARE IMPEACHED.—DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES.—THE HOUSE OF PEERS ACQUITS THE IMPEACHED LORDS.—PETITION OF KENT.—FAVOURABLE END OF THE SESSION.—PROGRESS OF PRINCE EUGENE IN ITALY.—SKETCH OF THE SITUATION OF AFFAIRS IN EUROPE.—TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE MARITIME POWERS.—DEATH OF KING JAMES.—THE FRENCH KING OWNS THE PRETENDED PRINCE OF WALES AS KING OF ENGLAND.—ADDRESSES TO KING WILLIAM ON THAT SUBJECT.—NEW PARLIAMENT.—THE KING'S LAST SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES RECEIVED WITH GREAT APPLAUSE.—GREAT HARMONY BETWEEN THE KING AND PARLIAMENT.—THE TWO HOUSES PASS THE BILL FOR AMBURIGATION.—THE LOWER HOUSE JUSTIFIES THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMONS IN THE PRECEDING PARLIAMENT.—AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.—THE KING RECOMMENDS AN UNION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS.—HE FALLS FROM HIS HORSE.—HIS DEATH—AND CHARACTER.

WHEN the king opened the session of Parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought

to the end they all proposed, namely, an honourable peace. He gave them to understand there was a considerable debt on account of the fleet and army: that the revenues of the crown had been anticipated: he expressed his hope that they would provide for him during his life, in such a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the present England could not be safe without a standing army. He promised to rectify such corruptions and abuses as might have crept into any part of the administration during the war; and effectually to discourage profaneness and immorality. Finally, he assured them, that as he had rescued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he should place the glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to latest posterity. To this speech the Commons replied in an address by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an assurance, that they would be ever ready to assist and support his majesty, who had confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties, and, by putting an end to the war, fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithstanding these appearances of good humour, the majority of the house, and indeed of the whole nation, were equally alarmed and exasperated at a project for maintaining a standing army, which was countenanced at court, and even recommended by the king, in his speech to the Parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a king without power. He could not without reluctance dismiss those officers who had given so many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himself safe upon the naked throne, in a kingdom that swarmed with malecontents, who had so often conspired against his person and government. He dreaded the ambition and known perfidy of the French king, who still retained a powerful army. He foresaw that a reduction of the forces would lessen his importance both at home and abroad; diminish the dependence upon his government; and disperse those foreigners in whose attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his sentiments on this subject to his confidant, the Earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the aversion of the people to a standing army: nevertheless, he encouraged him with hope of success, on the

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parties.

supposition that the Commons would see the difference between an army raised by the king's private authority, and a body of veteran troops, maintained by consent of Parliament for the security of the kingdom. This was a distinction to which the people paid no regard. All the jealousy of former Parliaments seemed to be roused by the bare proposal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice against the refugees, in whose favour the king had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were submissive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generosity. The Jacobites failed not to cherish the seeds of dissatisfaction, and reproach the whigs who countenanced this measure. They branded that party with apostasy from their former principles. They observed, that the very persons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the king of that share of power which was absolutely necessary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a standing army in time of peace; nay, and impudently avowed, that their complaisance to the court in this particular was owing to their desire of excluding from all share in the administration a faction disaffected to his majesty, which might mislead him into more pernicious measures. The majority of those who really entertained revolution principles opposed the court, from apprehensions that a standing army once established would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government: that should the people be disarmed, and the sword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation must be entirely at the mercy of him by whom those mercenaries should be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to Parliaments, and establish a tyranny, before the people could take any measures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was possible to form a militia that, with the concurrence of a fleet, might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invasion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms, so as to acquire the dexterity of professed soldiers; and they did not doubt they would surpass those hirelings in courage, considering that they would be animated by every concurring motive of interest, sentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, surrounded as it was by a boisterous sea, secured by floating bulwarks, abounding with stout and hardy inhabitants, did not deserve to be free,



if her sons could not protect their liberties without the assistance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only slaves of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, some individuals espoused the opposite maxims. They observed, that the military system of every government in Europe was now altered: that war was become a trade, and discipline a science not to be learned but by those who made it their sole profession: that, therefore, while France kept up a large standing army of veterans, ready to embark on the opposite coast, it would be absolutely necessary, for the safety of the nation, to maintain a small standing force, which should be voted in Parliament from year to year. They might have suggested another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of disciplined men. Had the soldiers of this small standing army been enlisted for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their discharge, volunteers would have offered themselves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the desire of learning the use and exercise of arms, the ambition of being concerned in scenes of actual service, and the chagrin of little disappointments or temporary disgusts, which yet would not have impelled them to enlist as soldiers on the common terms of perpetual slavery. In consequence of such a succession, the whole kingdom would soon have been stocked with members of a disciplined militia, equal, if not superior, to any army of professed soldiers. But this scheme would have defeated the purpose of the government, which was more afraid of domestic foes than of foreign enemies; and industriously avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malecontents of the nation more formidable.

Before we proceed to the transactions of Parliament in this session, it may not be amiss to sketch the outlines of the ministry, as it stood at this juncture. The king's affection for the Earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his esteem for Sunderland increased, together with his consideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been distinguished by some particular marks of his majesty's favour. These two favourites are said to have supplanted Portland, whose place in the king's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private secretary. The Earl of Portland growing

Characters  
of the mi-  
nisters.

troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the king resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of an ambassador extraordinary to the court of France; and Trumball, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of secretary, which the king conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as under-secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the Earl of Sunderland in his credit at the council-board, and was supported by Somers, lord chancellor of England, by Russel, now Earl of Orford, first lord of the Admiralty, and Montague, chancellor of the exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montague had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy; the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment, he was liberal, easy, and entertaining: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

The terrors of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the court in the House of Commons durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces; but they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the House to agree, that a very small number should be retained. When the Commons voted, that all the forces raised since the year one thousand six hundred and eighty should be disbanded, the courtiers desired the vote might be re-committed, on pretence that it restrained the king to the old tory regiments, on whose fidelity he could not rely. This motion, however, was overruled by a considerable majority. Then they proposed an amendment, which was rejected, and afterwards moved, that the sum of five hundred thousand pounds per annum should be granted for the maintenance of guards and garrisons. This provision would have maintained a very considerable number; but they were again disap-

The Commons reduce the number of standing forces to ten thousand.

pointed, and fain to embrace a composition with the other party, by which three hundred and fifty thousand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thousand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thousand marines. The king was extremely mortified at these resolutions of the Commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreseen they would make such returns of ingratitude and distrust. His displeasure was aggravated by the resentment expressed against Sunderland, who was supposed to have advised the unpopular measure of retaining a standing army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the Commons, resolved to avert the fury of the impending storm, by resigning his office, and retiring from court, contrary to the entreaties of his friends, and the earnest desire of his majesty.

The House of Commons, in order to sweeten the unpalatable cup they had presented to the king, voted the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds per annum for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services. Then they passed an act prohibiting the currency of silver hammered coin, including a clause for making out new exchequer-bills, in lieu of those which were or might be filled up with endorsements: they framed another to open the correspondence with France, under a variety of provisos; a third for continuing the imprisonment of certain persons who had been concerned in the late conspiracy; a fourth granting further time for administering oaths with respect to tallies and orders in the exchequer and bank of England. These bills having received the royal assent, they resolved to grant a supply, which, together with the funds already settled for that purpose, should be sufficient to answer and cancel all exchequer-bills, to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds. Another supply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to such commission-officers as were natural-born subjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thousand pounds to make good deficiencies. They resolved, that the sum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand one hundred and two pounds was necessary to pay off arrears, subsistence, contingencies, general-officers, guards, and garrisons; of which sum eight hundred and fifty-five thousand five hun-

They establish the civil list; and assign funds for paying the national debts.

dred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaster. Then they took into consideration the subsidies due to foreign powers, and the sums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thousand seven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thousand one hundred and fifty-seven pounds. The transport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other services, did not fall short of four hundred and sixty-six thousand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds for quartering and clothing the army, which had been raised by one act of Parliament in the year 1677, and disbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be discharged at once, the Commons passed a number of votes for raising sums of money, by which it was considerably lightened; and settled the funds for those purposes by the continuation of the land-tax, and other impositions. With respect to the civil list, it was raised by a new subsidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary excise, a weekly portion from the revenue of the post-office, the first-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation office, and post-fines, the revenue of the wine-licence, money arising by sheriffs, proffers, and compositions in the exchequer, and seizures, the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon specie from Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands. The bill imported, that the overplus arising from these funds should be accounted for to Parliament. Six hundred thousand pounds of this money was allotted for the purposes of the civil list: the rest was granted for the jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum, to be paid to Queen Mary d'Esté, according to the stipulation at Ryswick, and to maintain a court for the Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age; but the jointure was never paid; nor would the king allow above fifteen thousand pounds per annum for the use of the Duke of Gloucester, to whom Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, was appointed preceptor.

The Commons, having discussed the ways and means for

raising the supplies of the ensuing year, which rose almost to five millions, took cognizance of some fraudulent endorsements of exchequer-bills, a species of forgery which had been practised by a confederacy, consisting of Charles Duncomb, receiver-general of the excise, Bartholomew Burton, who possessed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, treasurer of the customs, and Reginald Marriot, a deputy-teller of the exchequer. This last became evidence, and the proof turning out very strong and full, the House resolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both members of Parliament, were expelled and committed to the Tower; Burton was sent to Newgate; and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in against them. The first, levelled at Duncomb, passed the Lower House, though not without great opposition; but was rejected in the House of Lords by the majority of one voice. Duncomb, who was extremely rich, is said to have paid dear for his escape. The other two bills met with the same fate. The Peers discharged Duncomb from his confinement; but he was recommitted by the Commons, and remained in custody till the end of the session. While the Commons were employed on ways and means, some of the members in the opposition proposed, that one-fourth part of the money arising from improper grants of the crown should be appropriated to the service of the public; but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the whigs of King William's reign, but also the Tories, who had been gratified by Charles II. and his brother. A great number of petitions were presented against this measure, and so many difficulties raised, that both parties agreed to lay it aside. In the course of this inquiry, they discovered that one Railton held a grant in trust for Mr. Montague, chancellor of the exchequer. A motion was immediately made that he should withdraw; but passed in the negative by a great majority. Far from prosecuting this minister, the House voted it was their opinion, that Mr. Montague, for his good services to the government, did deserve his majesty's favour.

This extraordinary vote was a sure presage of success in the execution of a scheme which Montague had concerted against the East India Company. They had been sounded

They take cognizance of fraudulent endorsements of exchequer-bills.

Burnet, Kennet, State Tracts, Burchet, Lives of the Admirals, Tindal, Ralph, Voltaire.

about advancing a sum of money for the public service, by way of loan, in consideration of a parliamentary settlement; and they offered to raise seven hundred thousand pounds on that condition; but before they formed this resolution, another body of merchants, under the auspices of Montague, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might be gratified with an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. This proposal was very well received by the majority in the House of Commons. A bill for this purpose was brought in, with additional clauses of regulation. A petition was presented by the old company, representing their rights and claims under so many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thousand families interested in the stock; as also to the company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thousand pounds of yearly revenue. They alleged they had expended a million in fortifications: that during the war they had lost twelve great ships, worth fifteen hundred thousand pounds: that since the last subscription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds to the customs, with above eighty-five thousand pounds in taxes: that they had furnished six thousand barrels of gunpowder on a very pressing occasion; and eighty thousand pounds for the circulation of exchequer-bills, at a very critical juncture, by desire of the lords of the treasury, who owned that their compliance was a very important service to the government. No regard being paid to their remonstrances, they undertook to raise the loan of two millions, and immediately subscribed two hundred thousand pounds as the first payment. The two proposals being compared and considered by the House, the majority declared for the bill, which was passed, and sent up to the House of Lords. There the old company delivered another petition, and was heard by counsel; nevertheless, the bill made its way, though not without opposition, and a formal protestation by one-and-twenty lords, who thought it was a hardship upon the present company; and doubted whether the separate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint-stock, might not prove such an inconsistency as would discourage the subscription. This act, by which the old company was dissolved, in a great measure blasted the reputation of the whigs, which had for some time been on the decline with the people. They had stood up as advocates

An. 1698.  
A new  
East India  
Company  
constituted  
by act of  
Parliament.

for a standing army; they now unjustly superseded the East India Company; they were accused of having robbed the public by embezzling the national treasure, and amassing wealth by usurious contracts, at the expense of their fellow-subjects, groaning under the most oppressive burdens. Certain it is, they were at this period the most mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or administration since the first establishment of the English monarchy.

The Commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were interested. Colonel Michelborne, who had been joint governor of Londonderry with Dr. Walker, during the siege of that place, petitioned the House in behalf of himself, his officers, and soldiers, to whom a considerable sum of money was due for subsistence; and the city itself implored the mediation of the Commons with his majesty, that its services and sufferings might be taken into consideration. The House, having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, presented an address to the king, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his majesty's favour, that they might no longer remain a ruinous spectacle to all, a scorn to their enemies, and a discouragement to well-affected subjects; they likewise declared, that the governor and garrison did deserve some special marks of royal favour, for a lasting monument to posterity. To this address the king replied, that he would consider them according to the desire of the Commons. William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, having published a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the Parliament of England, the House appointed a committee to inquire into the cause and nature of this performance. An address was voted to the king, desiring he would give directions for the discovery and punishment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the Commons in a body presented an address to his majesty, representing the dangerous attempts which had been lately made by some of his subjects in Ireland, to shake off their subjection and dependence upon England; attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious assertions contained in a book lately published, but more fully and authentically by some votes and proceedings of the Commons in Ireland. These had, during their last session, transmitted an act for the better security of his

Proceedings  
against a  
book  
written by  
William  
Molineux  
of Dublin.

majesty's person and government, whereby an English act of Parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of justice and the great seal of England. The English Commons, therefore, besought his majesty to give effectual orders for preventing any such encroachments for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was past, by punishing those who had been guilty thereof: that he would take care to see the laws which direct and restrain the Parliament of Ireland punctually observed, and discourage every thing which might have a tendency to lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonstrance was graciously received, and the king promised to comply with their request.

The jealousy which the Commons entertained of the government in Ireland animated them to take other measures, that ascertained the subjection of that kingdom. Understanding that the Irish had established divers woollen manufactories, they, in another address, entreated his majesty to take measures for discouraging the woollen manufactures in Ireland, as they interfered with those of England, and promote the linen manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the same time, receiving information that the French had seduced some English manufacturers, and set up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers'-earth, and scouring-clay; and this was immediately passed into a law. A petition being presented to the House, by the lustring company, against certain merchants who had smuggled alamodes and lustrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the secrets of this traffic were detected. Upon the report, the House resolved, that the manufacture of alamodes and lustrings set up in England had been beneficial to the kingdom: that there had been a destructive and illegal trade carried on during the war for importing these commodities, by which the king had been defrauded of his customs, and the English manufacturers greatly discouraged: that, by the smuggling vessels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from justice. Stephen Seignoret, Rhene Baudoin, John Goodet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de

And against  
certain  
smugglers  
of alamodes  
and lustrings  
from  
France.



Hearse, John Pierce, John Dumaitre, and David Barreau, were impeached at the bar of the House of Lords; and pleading guilty, the Lords imposed fines upon them, according to their respective circumstances. They were, in the mean time, committed to Newgate, until those fines should be paid; and the Commons addressed the king, that the money might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich hospital. The House having taken cognizance of this affair, and made some new regulations in the prosecution of the African trade, presented a solemn address to the king, representing the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beseeching his majesty to command all his judges, justices, and magistrates, to put the laws in execution against profaneness and immorality. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this remonstrance, promised to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expressed his desire that some more effectual provision might be made for suppressing impious books, containing doctrines against the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licentiousness and profligacy of the times.

In the midst of such immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the gospel in foreign countries. Missionaries, catechisms, liturgies, and other books for the instruction of ignorant people, were sent to the English colonies in America. This laudable design was supported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the House of Commons, for the better discovery of estates given to superstitious uses, Dr. Bray presented a petition, praying, that some part of these estates might be set apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward Islands. About this period, a society for the reformation of manners was formed under the king's countenance and encouragement. Considerable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worship, and administer the sacrament every Sunday. The members of this society resolved to inform the magistrates of all vice and immorality that should fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer, constitute a fund of charity. The business of the session being terminated, the king, on the third day of July, prorogued the Parliament.

Society for  
the reformation of  
manners.

after having thanked them, in a short speech, for the many testimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was dissolved.\*

In the month of January, the Earl of Portland had set out on his embassy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of distinction. He made a public entry into Paris with such magnificence as is said to have astonished the French nation. He interceded for the Protestants in that kingdom, against whom the persecution had been renewed with redoubled violence; he proposed that King James should be removed to Avignon, in which case his master would supply him with an honourable pension; but his remonstrances on both subjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a private conference with him at Marli, is supposed to have communicated his project of the partition treaty. The Earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himself totally eclipsed in the king's favour, by Keppel, now created Earl of Albemarle, resigned his employments in disgust; nor could the king's solicitations prevail upon him to resume any office in the household; though he promised to serve his majesty in any other shape, and was soon employed to negotiate the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miscarried in the purposes of his last embassy at the court of Versailles, the agents of France were equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England which the war had interrupted. Their commissary, sent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with insuperable difficulties. The Parliament had burthened the French commodities with heavy duties, which were already appropriated to different uses; and the channel of trade was, in many respects, entirely altered. The English merchants supplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain, and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Silesia; and manufactures of paper, hats, stuffs, and silks, had been set up and successfully carried on in England by the French refugees.

By this time a ferment had been raised in Scotland, by the opposition and discouragements their new company had sustained. They had employed agents in England, Holland,

\* On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the carelessness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and several adjoining apartments, were entirely consumed; but the banqueting-house was not affected.

and Hamburg, to receive subscriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the measures which had been taken in Parliament against the Scottish company. The Dutch East India Company took the alarm, and exerted all their interest to prevent their countrymen from subscribing; and the king permitted his resident at Hamburg to present a memorial against the Scottish company to the senate of that city. The Parliament of Scotland being assembled by the Earl of Marchmont as king's commissioner, the company presented it with a remonstrance, containing a detail of their grievances, arising from the conduct of the English House of Commons, as well as from the memorial presented by the king's minister at Hamburg, in which he actually disowned the act of Parliament and letters patent which had passed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his majesty's resentment, in case they should join the Scots in their undertaking. They represented, that such instances of interposition had put a stop to the subscriptions in England and Hamburg, hurt the credit of the company, discouraged the adventurers, and threatened the entire ruin of a design, in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The Parliament, having taken their case into consideration, sent an address to his majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and entreating that he would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying that his majesty would give some intimation to the senate of Hamburg, permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burnt-island; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his majesty. Though the commissioner was wholly devoted to the king, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appease the resentment of the nation; and the heats in Parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November. In this interval,

The king  
disowns the  
Scottish  
trading  
company.

the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburg that the address of the Parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favour, they wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Seafield, secretary of state, observing, that they had received repeated assurances of the king's having given orders to his resident at Hamburg touching their memorial; and entreating the interposition of his lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the king was much engaged in the affairs of the English Parliament. This declaration the directors considered, as it really was, a mere evasion, which helped to alienate the minds of that people from the king's person and government.

King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater consequence to the interests of Europe; namely, that of settling the succession to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II., whose constitution was already exhausted. He had been lately reduced to extremity, and his situation was no sooner known in France, than Louis detached a squadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the plate-fleet, in case the King of Spain should die before its arrival. William sent another fleet to protect the galleons; but it arrived too late for that service, and the nation loudly exclaimed against the tardiness of the equipment. His Catholic majesty recovered from his disorder, contrary to the expectation of his people; but continued in such an enfeebled and precarious state of health, that a relapse was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July, King William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a recess from business, which was necessary to his constitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himself for some time from a kingdom in which he had been exposed to such opposition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage was a design of treating with the French king, remote from the observation of those who might have penetrated into the nature of this negotiation. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence, and, as one of the number, nominated the Earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been constituted governor of the

He em-  
barks for  
Holland.

Duke of Gloucester. At his majesty's departure, sealed orders were left with the ministry, directing that sixteen thousand men should be retained in the service, notwithstanding the vote of the Commons, by which the standing army was limited to ten thousand. He alleged, that the apprehension of troubles which might arise at the death of King Charles induced him to transgress this limitation; and he hoped that the new Parliament would be more favourable. His enemies, however, made a fresh handle of this step, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

Having assisted at the assembly of the States-General, and given audience to divers ambassadors at the Hague, he repaired to his house at Loo, attended by <sup>the first treaty of partition.</sup> the Earls of Essex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was visited by Count Tallard, the French minister, who had instruction to negotiate the treaty concerning the Spanish succession. The Earl of Portland, by his majesty's order, had communicated to Secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French king proposed: he himself wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Somers, desiring his advice with regard to the propositions, and full powers under the great seal, with blanks to be filled up occasionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with Count Tallard; at the same time he strictly enjoined secrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Montague, who consulted with the chancellor and Vernon upon the subject; and the chancellor wrote an answer to the king, as the issue of their joint deliberation; but, before it reached his majesty, the first treaty of partition was signed by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson. The contracting powers agreed, that, in case the King of Spain should die without issue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spanish monarchy, and situated on the coast of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biscay, on the other side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships, vessels, and stores, should devolve upon the dauphin, in consideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, should descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, under the guardianship of his father: that the duchy of Milan should be settled on the emperor's

second son, the Archduke Charles : that this treaty should be communicated to the emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of England and the States-General : that if either should refuse to agree to this partition, his proportion should remain in sequestration, until the dispute could be accommodated : that in case the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs should succeed him in those dominions ; and, should the archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed that it should be sequestered, and governed by the Prince of Vaudemont. It may be necessary to observe, that Philip IV., father to the present King of Spain, had settled his crown by will on the emperor's children : that the dauphin was son to Maria-Theresa, daughter of the same monarch, whose right to the succession Louis had renounced in the most solemn manner : as for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, he was grandson to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the most impudent schemes of encroachment that tyranny and injustice ever planned. Louis, who had made a practice of sacrificing all ties of honour and good faith, to the interest of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foresaw that he should never be able to accomplish his designs upon the crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy against them. He therefore resolved to amuse him with a treaty, in which he should seem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be restricted by notions of private justice ; and that he would make no scruple to infringe the laws of particular countries, or even the rights of a single nation, when the balance of power was at stake. He judged right in this particular. The King of England lent a willing ear to his proposals, and engaged in a plan for dismembering a kingdom, in despite of the natives, and in violation of every law human or divine.

While the French king cajoled William with this negotiation, the Marquis d'Harcourt, his ambassador to Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The *Intrigues of France at the court of Madrid.* Queen of Spain, suspecting the designs of France, exerted all her interest in behalf of the King of the Romans, to whom she was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, bestowed the government of Milan on Prince Vaudemont, and established the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt as viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithstanding all

her efforts, she could not prevent the French minister from acquiring some influence in the Spanish councils. He was instructed to procure the succession of the crown for one of the dauphin's sons, or at least to hinder it from devolving upon the emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negotiations, the French king ordered an army of sixty thousand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ships and galleys cruised along the coast and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party; he represented that Philip IV. had no power to dispose of his crown against the laws of nature and the constitution of the realm: that, by the order of succession, the crown ought to descend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more distant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the dauphin's second son, the Duke of Anjou, they might train him up in the manners and customs of their country. When he found them averse to this proposal, he assured them his master would approve of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, rather than consent to the succession's devolving upon a son of the emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would choose a sovereign among themselves, they might depend upon the protection of his most Christian Majesty, who had no other view than that of preventing the house of Austria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Queen of Spain, having discovered the intrigues of this minister, conveyed the king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He supposed her intention was to prevail upon her husband, in his solitude, to confirm the last will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he understood that the Count de Harrach, the imperial ambassador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forthwith took the same road, pretending to have received a memorial from his master, with a positive order to deliver it into the king's own hand. He was given to understand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of Cardinal Corduba at Madrid, and that the king's health would not permit him to attend to business. The purport of the memorial was, an offer of French forces to assist in raising the siege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken; but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet discouraged, redoubled his efforts

address, for this undeniable proof of his readiness to comply with the desires of his Parliament. They assured him, he should never have reason to think the Commons were undutiful or unkind; for they would, on all occasions, stand by, and assist him in the preservation of his sacred person, and in the support of his government, against all his enemies whatsoever. The Lords presented an address to the same effect; and the king assured both Houses he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith issued orders for reducing the army to the number of seven thousand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garrisons; and, hoping the hearts of the Commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he could not dismiss without the most sensible regret. Lord Ranelagh was sent with a written message to the Commons, giving them to understand, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they should embark immediately, unless, out of consideration to him, the House should be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; a favour which his majesty would take very kindly. The Commons, instead of complying with his inclination, presented an address, in which they professed unspeakable grief that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution, which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation than an entire confidence between the king and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by entrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves during the late long and expensive war. They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the king was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At the time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little consequence, savoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice



against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the House of Commons his person was treated with great disrespect in virulent insinuations. They suggested that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation; that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidants from the number of strangers that surrounded him; that after every session of Parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

The Commons, having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet, for the security of the kingdom: they granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priests and Roman Catholics, who had been frightened away by the Revolution, were now encouraged, by the treaty of Ryswick, to return, and appeared in all public places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a Papist in his heart. The Commons, alarmed at the number and insolence of those religionists, desired the king, in an address, to remove by proclamation all Papists and nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The king gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded; but a remarkable law was enacted against Papists in the course of the ensuing session. The old East India Company about this period petitioned the Lower House to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his majesty's charter: that the payment of the five pounds per cent, by the late act for settling the trade to the East Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner as not to remain a burden on the petitioners; and

The Commons address the king against the Papists.

that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the East India trade, as should be thought reasonable. A bill was brought in upon the subject of this petition; but rejected at the second reading.

Burnet. Discontents had risen to such a height, that some  
 Kennet. members began to assert, they were not bound to  
 Lamberty. maintain the votes and credit of the former Parlia-  
 State ment; and upon this maxim would have contributed  
 Tracts. their interest towards a repeal of the act made in  
 Tindal. favour of the new company; but such a scheme was of too  
 Ralph. dangerous consequence to the public credit to be carried into  
 execution.

That spirit of peevishness which could not be gratified with this sacrifice, produced an inquiry into the management of naval affairs, which was aimed at the Earl of Orford, a nobleman whose power gave umbrage, and whose wealth excited envy. He officiated both as treasurer of the navy and lord commissioner of the Admiralty, and seemed to have forgot the sphere from which he had risen to title and office. The Commons drew up an address, complaining of some unimportant articles of mismanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl was wise enough to avoid further prosecution, by resigning his employments. On the fourth day of May the king closed the session, with a short speech, hinting dissatisfaction at their having neglected to consider some points which he had recommended to their attention; and the Parliament was prorogued to the first of June.<sup>b</sup> In a little time after this prorogation, his majesty appointed a regency;<sup>c</sup> and on the second day of June embarked for Holland.

In Ireland nothing of moment was transacted. The Parliament of that kingdom passed an act for raising one hundred and twenty thousand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expense of maintaining

<sup>b</sup> About the latter end of March the Earl of Warwick and Lord Mohnn were tried by their Peers in Westminster-hall for the murder of Captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each side. Warwick was found guilty of manslaughter, and Mohnn acquitted.

Villiers, Earl of Jersey, who had been sent ambassador to France, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Duke of Shrewsbury; this nobleman was created lord chamberlain; the Earl of Manchester was sent ambassador extraordinary to France; the Earl of Pembroke was declared lord president of the council; and Lord Viscount Lonsdale keeper of the privy seal.

<sup>c</sup> Consisting of the lord chancellor, the lord president, the lord privy seal, the lord steward of the household, the Earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the Admiralty, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Jersey, and Mr. Montague.

twelve thousand men, who had been voted by the Commons of England, when the assembly was prorogued. A new commission afterwards arrived at Dublin, constituting the Duke of Bolton, the Earls of Berkeley and Galway, lord justices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increased against the ministry, who had disowned their company, and, in a great measure, defeated the design from which they had promised themselves such heaps of treasure. Notwithstanding the discouragements to which their company had been exposed, they fitted out two of four large ships which had been built at Hamburgh for their service. These were laden with a cargo for traffic, with some artillery and military stores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they sailed from the Frith of Edinburgh, with some tenders, on the seventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madeira they took in a supply of wine, and then steered to Crab Island, in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa-Cruz and Porto-Rico. Their design was to take possession of this little island; but, when they entered the road, they saw a large tent pitched upon the strand, and the Danish colours flying. Finding themselves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their course to the coast of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the establishment of their colony, and taking possession of the ground, to which they gave the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their council, consisting of Paterson the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the king, containing a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established; they implored the continuance of his royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of Parliament, and the patent they had obtained.

By this time, however, the king was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of

The Scottish company make a settlement on the isthmus of Darien.

their provisions had been consumed before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied from the English colonies. That they might be debarred of all such assistance, he sent orders to the governors of Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it, in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provisions, on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his majesty, but had peopled Darien, in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto-Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French king complained of the invasion, and offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Colonna, Marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presented a memorial to King William, remonstrating against the settlement of this colony, as a mark of disregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two crowns; and declaring, that his master would take proper measures against such hostilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to subdue; that, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to dispose of their own lands, part of which the company had purchased for a valuable consideration. But there was another cause more powerful than the remonstrances of the Spanish court to which this colony fell a sacrifice; and that was the jealousy of the English traders and planters. Darien was said to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprising and pertinacious people; and their harbour near Golden Island was already declared a free port. The English apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony, by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: that the buccaneers in particular would choose it as their chief residence: that the plantations of England would be deserted: that Darien would become another Algiers: and that the settlement

would produce a rupture with Spain, in consequence of which the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated. The Dutch, too, are said to have been jealous of a company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the illicit commerce to the Spanish main; and to have hardened the king's heart against the new settlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithstanding the repeated petitions and remonstrances of their constituents. Famine compelled the first adventurers to quit the coast: a second recruit of men and provisions was sent thither from Scotland; but one of their ships, laden with provisions, being burnt by accident, they likewise deserted the place: another reinforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing; but they were soon divided into factions that rendered all their schemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced against them; when, finding themselves incapable of withstanding the enemy, they solicited a capitulation, by virtue of which they were permitted to retire. Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scottish nation, which had engaged in this design with incredible eagerness, and even embarked a greater sum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occasion. They were now not only disappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, but a great number of families were absolutely ruined by the miscarriage of the design, which they imputed solely to the conduct of King William. The whole kingdom of Scotland seemed to join in the clamour that was raised against their sovereign, taxed him with double dealing, inhumanity, and base ingratitude, to a people who had lavished their treasure and best blood in support of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition; and, had their power been equal to their animosity, in all probability a rebellion would have ensued.

William, meanwhile, enjoyed himself at Loo, where he was visited by the Duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of friendship. During his residence in this place, the Earl of Portland and the Grand Pensionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French ambassador, Count Tallard, upon the subject of the Spanish succession. The first plan of the partition being defeated by the death of the young Prince of Bavaria, they found it necessary to concert another,

Remonstrances of the Spanish court against the treaty of partition.

and began a private negotiation for that purpose. The court of Spain, apprised of their intention, sent a written remonstrance to Mr. Stanhope, the English minister at Madrid, expressing their resentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and desiring that a stop might be put to those intrigues, seeing the King of Spain would of himself take the necessary steps for preserving the public tranquillity, in case he should die without heirs of his body. A representation of the same kind was made to the ministers of France and Holland: the Marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, delivered a memorial to the lords justices, couched in the most virulent terms, against this transaction, and even appealing from the king to the Parliament. This Spaniard was pleased with an opportunity to insult King William, who hated his person, and had forbid him the court, on account of his appearing covered in his majesty's presence. The regency had no sooner communicated this paper to the king, than he ordered the ambassador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own house till the time of his departure. He was likewise given to understand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domestics. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his master, which he styled an insolent and saucy attempt to stir up sedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the people and Parliament of England against his majesty. The court of Spain justified what their minister had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spanish ambassador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the same subject to the States-General; which, however, they refused to accept. These remonstrances did not interrupt the negotiation, in which Louis was so eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to signify their accession to the articles agreed upon by France and England; but his Britannic majesty found means to remove this jealousy.

About the middle of October, William returned to England, and conferred upon the Duke of Shrewsbury the office of chamberlain, vacant since the resignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montague, at the same period, resigned his seat at the treasury-board, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer;

The Commons persist in their resolutions to mortify the king.

either foreseeing uncommon difficulty in managing a House of Commons, after they had been dismissed in ill-humour, or dreading the interest of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconsistent. The king opened the session of Parliament, on the sixteenth day of November, with a long speech, advising a further provision for the safety of the kingdom by sea and land, as well as the repairs of ships and fortifications; exhorting the Commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the debts of the nation, and provide the necessary supplies. He recommended some good bill for the more effectual preventing and punishing unlawful and clandestine trading; and expressed a desire, that some method should be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burden to the kingdom. He assured them, his resolutions were to countenance virtue and discourage vice; and that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and prosperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with these words: "Since, then, our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another; which will not fail, with God's blessing, to make me a happy king, and you a great and flourishing people."—The Commons were now become wanton in their disgust. Though they had received no real provocation, they resolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmless expression of, "let us act with confidence in one another." Instead of an address of thanks, according to the usual custom, they presented a sullen remonstrance, complaining that a jealousy and disgust had been raised of their duty and affection; and desiring he would show marks of his high displeasure towards all persons who had presumed to misrepresent their proceedings to his majesty. He declared, in his answer, that no person had ever dared to misrepresent their proceedings, and that, if any should presume to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would treat them as his worst enemies.

The House was not in a humour to be appeased with soothing promises and protestations: they determined to distress him, by prosecuting his ministers. During the war, the colonies of North America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the master of a sloop, undertook to suppress the pirates, provided the

Inquiry  
into the ex-  
pedition of  
Captain  
Kidd.

government would furnish him with a ship of thirty guns, well manned. The board of Admiralty declaring that such a number of seamen could not be spared from the public service, Kidd was equipped by the private subscription of the lord chancellor, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harrison, and Colonel Livingstone, of New York. The king promised to contribute one-half of the expense, and reserved to himself one-tenth of the profits; but he never advanced the money. Kidd, being thus equipped, and provided with a commission to act against the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein mentioned by name, set sail from Plymouth; but, instead of cruising on the coast of America, he directed his course to the East Indies, where he himself turned pirate, and took a rich ship belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ship, and sailed with his prize to the West Indies. There he purchased a sloop, in which he steered for North America, leaving part of his men in the prize, to remain in one of the Leeward Islands, until they should receive further instructions. Arriving on the coast of New York, he sent one Emmet to make his peace with the Earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negotiation, in the course of which he was apprehended. Then his lordship sent an account of his proceedings to the secretary of state, desiring that he would send for the prisoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death, and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The Admiralty, by order of the lords justices, despatched the ship Rochester to bring home the prisoners and their effects; but, after having been tossed for some time with tempestuous weather, this vessel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a shattered condition. This incident furnished the malecontents with a colour to paint the ministry as the authors and abettors of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the public. The old East India Company had complained to the regency of the capture made by Kidd in the East Indies, apprehending, as the vessel belonged to the Moors, they should be exposed to the resentment of the mogul. In the beginning of December, this subject being brought abruptly



into the House of Commons, a motion was made, that the letters-patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate ensued, in the course of which some members declaimed with great bitterness against the chancellor and the Duke of Shrewsbury, as partners in a piratical scheme; but these imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might have justly stigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which those noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

While this affair was in agitation among the Commons, the attention of the Upper House was employed upon the case of Dr. Watson, Bishop of St. David's. This prelate was supposed to have paid a valuable consideration for his bishopric; and, after his elevation, had sold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimbursed. He was accused of simony; and, after a solemn hearing before the Archbishop of Canterbury and six suffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege; so that the affair was brought into the House of Lords, who refused to own him as a peer after he had ceased to be a bishop. Thus disappointed, he had recourse to the court of delegates, by whom the archbishop's sentence was confirmed. The next effort that the Commons made, with a view of mortifying King William, was to raise a clamour against Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. He was represented in the House as a very unfit preceptor for the Duke of Gloucester, both as a Scottish man, and author of that pastoral letter, which had been burned by order of the Parliament, for asserting that William had a right to the crown from conquest. A motion was made for addressing his majesty that this prelate might be dismissed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the trust. He had declined the office which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to resign his bishopric, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a pastor. He insisted upon the duke's residence all the summer at Windsor, which is in

A motion  
made  
against  
Burnet,  
Bishop of  
Sarum.

the diocese of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

The circumstance on which the anti-courtiers built their chief hope of distressing or disgracing the government, was the inquiry into the Irish forfeitures which the king had distributed among his own dependents. The commissioners appointed by Parliament to examine these particulars were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction: the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court, than from a love of justice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular scrutinized the grant of an estate which the king had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Countess of Orkney, so as to expose his majesty's partiality for that favourite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the course of their examination, the Earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewster, opposed the rest of the commissioners in divers articles of the report which they refused to sign, and sent over a memorial to the House of Commons, explaining their reasons for dissenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were considered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their representations. The others delivered their report, declaring that a million and a half of money might be raised from the sale of the confiscated estates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the use of the public. A motion being made to reserve a third part for the king's disposal, it was overruled: then the Commons passed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any person whatsoever concerning the grants; and that they would consider the great services performed by the commissioners appointed to inquire into the forfeited estates. They resolved, that the four commissioners who had signed the report had acquitted themselves with understanding, courage, and integrity; and that Sir Richard Leving, as author of groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon his four colleagues, should be committed prisoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following resolution, which was presented to the king in form of an address: that the procuring and passing those grants had occasioned great

debts upon the nation, and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the king's honour; and that the officers and instruments concerned in the same had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. The king answered, that he was not only led by inclination, but thought himself obliged in justice, to reward those who had served well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He observed, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking just and effectual ways for lessening that debt, and supporting public credit, was what, in his opinion, would best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the kingdom. This answer kindled a flame of indignation in the House. They forthwith resolved, that the adviser of it had used his utmost endeavours to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the king and his people.

They prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption. They ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the king's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the House, touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification; and they resolved, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counsellor, in this or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanour. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of resumption, thirteen trustees were authorized and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates; to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising from the sale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his majesty, by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland; and that it might undergo no alteration in the House of Lords, it was consolidated with the money bill for the service of the year. In the House of Lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the Commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a list of the privy council to be laid before the House. The Lords demanded conferences, which served only to exasperate the two Houses against each other: for the Peers insisted upon their amendments, and the Commons were so provoked

The Commons pass a bill of resumption.

at their interfering in a money bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their House to be shut, that no members should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy counsellors; and a question was moved, that an address should be made to his majesty, to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The king was

Burnet.  
Oldmixon.  
Cole's  
Mem.  
State  
Tracts.  
Lamberty.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.

extremely chagrined at the bill, which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an injury to his friends and servants; and he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into a law; but he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, dissemble his resentment. He became sullen, peevish, and morose, and his enemies did not fail to make use of this additional ill-humour, as a proof of his aversion to the English people. Though the motion against the chancellor had miscarried, the Commons resolved to address his majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but before the address could be presented, the king went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, speaker of the House, in the absence of the chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the Parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

In the course of this session, the Commons, having prosecuted their inquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual suppressing of piracy, which passed into a law: understanding afterwards that Kidd was brought over to England, they presented an address to the king, desiring that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned, till the next session of Parliament; and his majesty complied with their request. Boiling still with indignation against the lord chancellor, who had turned many disaffected persons out of the commission of the peace, the House ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying

1700.

justices of the peace; and appointed a committee to inspect the commission. This reporting that many dissenters, and men of small fortunes, depending on the court, were put into those places, the Commons declared in an address, that it would much conduce to the service of his majesty, and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good estates should be restored, and put into the commissions of the peace and lieutenancy; and that men of small estates be neither continued, nor put into the said commissions. The king assured them he was of the same opinion; and that he would give directions accordingly. They were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious answer. They passed a bill to exculpate such as had neglected to sign the association, either through mistake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancashire clergy, complaining of the insolence and attempts of popish priests, they appointed a committee to inquire how far the laws against popish refugees had been put in execution; and upon the report, a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to such persons as should discover and convict popish priests and Jesuits; and perpetual imprisonment for those convicted on the oath of one or more witnesses. It enacted, that no person, born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a Papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed; and that no Papist should be capable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name or in the name of any other person in trust for him. Several alterations were made in this first draft, before it was finished and sent up to the Lords, some of whom proposed amendments: these, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the royal assent, contrary to the expectation of those who prosecuted the measure, on the supposition that the king was a favourer of the Papists. After all, the bill was deficient in necessary clauses to enforce execution; so that the law was very little regarded in the sequel:

The court sustained another insult from the old East India Company, who petitioned the House that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time prescribed in their charter. They, at the same

And a severe bill against Papists.

time, published a state of their case, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an answer to this remonstrance, exposing the corrupt practices of their adversaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montague, was now vanished; the supply was not yet discussed; and the ministry would not venture to provoke the Commons, who seemed propitious to the old company, and actually passed a bill in their favour. This, meeting with no opposition in the Upper House, was enacted into a law, renewing their establishment; so that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the East Indies. The Commons, not yet satisfied with the vexations to which they had exposed their sovereign, passed a bill to appoint commissioners for taking and examining the public accounts. Another law was made to prohibit the use of India silks and stuffs which interfered with the English manufactures; a third to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biscuit; and a fourth, in which provision was made for punishing governors, or commanders in chief of plantations and colonies, in case they should commit any crimes or acts of injustice and oppression in the exercise of their administration.

The people of Scotland still continued in violent agitation. They published a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great measure ascribed to his majesty. A complaint being preferred to the House of Commons against this performance, it was voted a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The Commons addressed his majesty, to issue his royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the said libel; and he complied with their request. The Scottish company had sent up an address to the king, in behalf of some adventurers who were wrongfully detained prisoners in Carthagea; but Lord Basil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refused admittance to his majesty, on pretence of his being suspected of disaffection to the government. The king, however, wrote to his council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the prisoners, and countenance any laudable measure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The directors of the

Dangerous  
ferment in  
Scotland.

company, not content with this declaration, importuned their lord-chancellor, who was in London, to procure access for Lord Basil Hamilton; and the ministry took shelter from their solicitations behind a parliamentary inquiry. The subject of the Scottish colony being introduced into the House of Lords, where the ministerial influence preponderated, a vehement debate arose, not from any regard to the interest of Scotland, but from mere opposition to the court, which, however, triumphed in the issue. A motion was made, that the settlement of the Scottish colony at Darien was inconsistent with the good of the plantation trade of England; and passed in the affirmative by a small majority. Then they presented an address, declaring their sympathy with the losses of their fellow-subjects, and their opinion that a prosecution of the design must end, not only in far greater disappointments to themselves, but also prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the address of both Houses, touching that settlement; and they expressed their approbation of the orders he had sent to the governors of the plantations on this subject. The king, in his answer to the address, in which the Commons refused to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to consider of an union between the two kingdoms as a measure, than which nothing could more contribute to their mutual security and advantage. The Lords, in pursuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commissioners of the realm of England to treat with commissioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms: but it was obstructed in the House of Commons, who were determined to thwart every step that might tend to lessen the disgust, or appease the animosity, of the Scottish nation. The malecontents insinuated, that the king's opposition to the Scottish company flowed neither from his regard to the interest of England, nor from his punctual observance of treaties with Spain, but solely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the island of Curaçoa to the Spanish plantations in America, and were apprehensive that the Scottish company would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation served as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and industriously blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their Parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, that the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal

and rightful settlement, which the Parliament would maintain and support. On account of this resolution the session was for some time discontinued; but when the Scots understood their new settlement was totally abandoned, their capital lost, and all their hope entirely vanished, the whole nation was seized with a transport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been sacrificed and basely betrayed in that quarter where they were entitled to protection. They concerted an address to the king, couched in a very high strain, representing the necessity of an immediate Parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for subscriptions, signed by a great number of those who sat in Parliament, and presented to the king by Lord Ross, who with some others was deputed for that purpose. The king told them, they should know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time adjourned their Parliament by proclamation. The people, exasperated at this new provocation, began to form the draft of a second national address, to be signed by the shires and boroughs of the kingdom; but before this could be finished, the king wrote a letter to the Duke of Queensberry, and the privy council of that nation, which was published for the satisfaction of the people. He professed himself grieved at the nation's loss, and willing to grant what might be needful for the relief and ease of the kingdom. He assured them he had their interest at heart; and that his good subjects should have convincing proofs of his sincere inclination to advance the wealth and prosperity of that his ancient kingdom. He said he hoped this declaration would be satisfactory to all good men; that they would not suffer themselves to be misled; nor give advantage to enemies, and ill-designing persons, ready to seize every opportunity of embroiling the government. He gave them to understand that his necessary absence had occasioned the late adjournment; but as soon as God should bring him back, their Parliament should be assembled. Even this explanation, seconded by all the credit and address of his ministers, failed in allaying the national ferment, which rose to the very verge of rebellion.

The king, who, from his first accession to the throne, had veered occasionally from one party to another, according to the circumstances of his affairs, and the opposition he encountered, was, at this period, so incensed and embarrassed by the caprice and

Lord  
Somers  
dismissed  
from his  
employ-  
ments.



insolence of the Commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the tories, who undertook to manage the Parliament according to his pleasure, provided he would part with some of his ministers who were peculiarly odious to the Commons. The person against whom their anger was chiefly directed was the Lord Chancellor Somers, the most active leader of the whig party. They demanded his dismissal, and the king exhorted him to resign his office; but he refusing to take any step that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a consciousness of guilt, the king sent a peremptory order for the seals by the Lord Jersey, to whom Somers delivered them without hesitation. They were successively offered to Lord Chief Justice Holt, and Trevor, the attorney-general, who declined accepting such a precarious office. Meanwhile, the king granted a temporary commission to three judges to sit in the Court of Chancery; and at length bestowed the seals, with the title of lord-keeper, on Nathan Wright, one of the serjeants at law, a man but indifferently qualified for the office to which he was now preferred. Though William seemed altogether attached to the tories, and inclined to a new Parliament, no person appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for some time the administration seemed to be under no particular direction.

During the transactions of the last session, the negotiation for a second partition treaty had been carried on in London by the French minister, Tallard, in conjunction with the Earls of Portland and Jersey, and was soon brought to perfection. On the twenty-first day of February the treaty was signed in London; and on the twenty-fifth of the next month it was subscribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the plenipotentiaries of the States-General. By this convention the treaty of Ryswick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that, in case of his Catholic majesty's dying without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange for which last the Duke of Lorraine should enjoy the duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche should remain in sovereignty to the Prince of Vaudemont: that the Archduke Charles should

Second  
treaty of  
partition.

inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in case of his dying without issue, it should devolve to some other child of the emperor, excepting him who might succeed as emperor or king of the Romans: that this monarchy should never descend to a king of France or dauphin; and that three months should be allowed to the emperor, to consider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French king was really sincere in his professions at this juncture, or proposed this treaty with a view to make a clandestine use of it at the court of Spain for more interested purposes, it is not easy to determine; at first, however, it was concealed from the notice of the public, as if the parties had resolved to take no step in consequence of it during the life of his Catholic majesty.

In the beginning of July the king embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young Duke of Gloucester, the only remaining child of seventeen which the Princess Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but also, as it left the succession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the Prince of Wales; but the Protestants generally turned their eyes upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and granddaughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the establishment of her succession that the court of Brunswick now returned the visit of King William. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The people were generally alienated from the person and government of the reigning king, upon whom they seem to have surfeited. The vigour of their minds was destroyed by luxury and sloth; the severity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The king's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate.

Death of  
the Duke of  
Gloucester.

They despatched Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain's immediately after the death of the Duke of Gloucester; they began to bestir themselves all over the kingdom. A report was spread that the Princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

In the mean time, King William was not inactive. The Kings of Denmark and Poland, with the Elector of Brandenburg, had formed a league to crush the young King of Sweden, by invading his dominions on different sides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga; the King of Denmark, having demolished some forts in Holstein, the duke of which was connected with Sweden, invested Tonnin-ghen. The Swedish minister in England demanded that assistance of William which had been stipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The states of Holland were solicited to the same purpose. Accordingly a fleet of thirty sail, English and Dutch, was sent to the Baltic, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who joined the Swedish squadron, and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Danish fleet had retired. At the same time, the Duke of Lunenbourg, with the Swedish forces, which happened to be at Bremen, passed the Elbe, and marched to the assistance of the Duke of Holstein. The Danes immediately abandoned the siege of Tonnin-ghen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Brunswick, were obliged to retreat in disorder. By the mediation of William, a negotiation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which, in order to quicken, Charles, the young King of Sweden, made a descent upon the isle of Zealand. This was executed with great success. Charles was the first man who landed; and here he exhibited such marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally astonished and intimidated his adversaries. Then he determined to besiege Copenhagen; a resolution that struck such terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a conclusion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, about the middle of August. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the squadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltic.

The king sends a fleet into the Baltic, to the assistance of the Swedes.

When the new partition treaty was communicated by the ministers of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable construction. Saxony and the northern crowns were still embroiled with their own quarrels, consequently could not give much attention to such a remote transaction. The princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their answers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the resentment of the house of Austria. The Elector of Brandenburg, in particular, had set his heart upon the regal dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the emperor. The Italian states were averse to the partition treaty, from their apprehension of seeing France in possession of Naples and other districts of their country. The Duke of Savoy affected a mysterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage. The Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The emperor expressed his astonishment that any disposition should be made of the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the present possessor, and the states of the kingdom. He observed, that neither justice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting even that share to a third person not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final resolution, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic majesty, on an affair in which their mutual interest was so nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negotiation with the King of Spain, who signed a will in favour of his second son Charles; yet he took no measures to support the disposition, either by sending the archduke with a sufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

The people of Spain were exasperated at the insolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm at the prospect of their monarchy being dismembered; and their grandes repined at the thought of losing so many lucrative governments which they now enjoyed. The king's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his disorder. The ministry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and

The second treaty of partition generally disagreeable to the European powers.

The French interest prevails at the court of Spain.

the people discontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the house of Austria, by the insolent carriage and rapacious disposition of the Queen Mariana. The French had gained over to their interests the Cardinal Portocarrero, the Marquis de Montercy, with many other noblemen and persons of distinction. These, perceiving the sentiments of the people, employed their emissaries to raise a general cry that France alone could maintain the succession entire: that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and any prince of that line must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. Portocarrero tampered with the weakness of his sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all these suggestions; he advised him to consult Pope Innocent XII. on this momentous point of regulating the succession. That pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Theresa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulsion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted King Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repose of Christendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandson of the French monarch. This admonition was seconded by the remonstrances of Portocarrero; and the weak prince complied with the proposal. In the mean time, the King of France seemed to act heartily as a principal in the treaty of partition. His ministers at foreign courts co-operated with those of the maritime powers, in soliciting the accession of the different potentates in Europe. When Count Zinzendorf, the imperial ambassador at Paris, presented a memorial, desiring to know what part France would act, should the King of Spain voluntarily place a grandson of Louis upon the throne, the Marquis de Torcy answered in writing, that his most Christian majesty would by no means listen to such a proposal: nay, when the emperor's minister gave them to understand that his master was ready to begin a separate negotiation with the court of Versailles, touching the Spanish succession, Louis declared he could not treat on that subject without the concurrence of his allies.

The nature of the partition treaty was no sooner known in England, than condemned by the most intelligent part of the nation. They first of all complained, that such an important affair should be concluded without the advice of

Parliament. They observed, that the scheme was unjust, and the execution of it hazardous; that, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers seemed to have acted as partisans of France; for the possession of Naples and the Tuscan ports would subject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the English trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipuscoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spanish dominions; they, for these reasons, pronounced the treaty destructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the interest of England. All these arguments were trumpeted by the malecontents, so that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of disaffection. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession of the English crown upon the person of the Prince of Wales. They are said to have sent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpose, and an assurance that a motion would be made in the House of Commons, to pass a vote that the crown should not be supported in the execution of the partition treaty. King William was not ignorant of the censure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his own subjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the Parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and wrote a letter to them from his house at Loo, containing an assurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the presbyterian discipline; for preventing the growth of popery, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses, and promoting the interest of their African and Indian companies. He expressed his concern that he could not assert the company's right of establishing a colony at Darien, without disturbing the peace of Christendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and despatch in raising competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought

King William finds means to ally the Scots in Scotland.

fit to continue the Duke of Queensberry in the office of high commissioner. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the Parliament seemed altogether intractable. By this time the company had received certain tidings of the entire surrender of their settlement; and on the first day of the session, they represented to Parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, some persons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonstrance was succeeded by another national address to the king, who told them he could not take any further notice of that affair, since the Parliament was now assembled; and he had already made a declaration with which he hoped all his faithful subjects would be satisfied. Nevertheless, he found it absolutely necessary to practise other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His ministers and their agents bestirred themselves so successfully, that the heats in Parliament were entirely cooled, and the outcry of the people subsided into unavailing murmurs. The Parliament resolved, that in consideration of their great deliverance by his majesty, and as, next under God, their safety and happiness wholly depended on his preservation and that of his government, they would support both to the utmost of their power, and maintain such forces as should be requisite for those ends. They passed an act for keeping on foot three thousand men for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. Then the commissioner produced the king's letter, desiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the first day of June following: they forthwith complied with his request, and were prorogued to the sixth of May. The supernumerary troops were sent over to the States-General; and the Earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of duke, as a recompense for having concurred with the commissioners in managing this session of Parliament.

King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himself involved; and in the beginning of the next month, he received advice that the King of Spain was actually dead. He could not be surprised at this event, which had been so long expected; but it was attended with a circumstance which he had not foreseen. Charles,

The King of Spain dies, after having bequeathed his dominions by will to the Duke of Anjou.

by his last will, had declared the Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, the sole heir of the Spanish monarchy. In case this prince should die without issue, or inherit the crown of France, he willed that Spain should devolve to the Duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the Duke of Savoy and his posterity. He likewise recommended a match between the Duke of Anjou and one of the archduchesses. When this testament was first notified to the French court, Louis seemed to hesitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-General. Madame de Maintenon is said to have joined her influence to that of the dauphin, in persuading the king to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to support the same measure. A cabinet council was called in her apartment. The rest of the ministry declared for the treaty of partition; the king affected a kind of neutrality. The dauphin spoke for his son with an air of resolution he had never assumed before: Pontchartrain seconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon asked what the Duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he should be barred of his right to that succession? Then the rest of the members espoused the dauphin's opinion; and the king owned himself convinced by their reasons. In all probability, the decision of this council was previously settled in private. After the will was accepted, Louis closeted the Duke of Anjou, to whom he said, in the presence of the Marquis des Rois, "Sir, the King of Spain has made you a king. The grandes demand you; the people wish for you, and I give my consent. Remember only, you are a prince of France. I recommend to you to love your people, to gain their affection by the lenity of your government, and to render yourself worthy of the throne you are going to ascend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheless, the Duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the archduke was placed next in succession to the Duke of Berry, in bar of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria Theresa. On the fourth day of December the new king set out for Spain, to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers.

When the will was accepted, the French minister, De Torcy, endeavoured to justify his master's conduct to the



Earl of Manchester, who resided at Paris in the character of ambassador from the court of London. He observed, that the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the end for which it had been concerted: that the emperor had refused to accede: that it was relished by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated: that the people of England and Holland had expressed their discontent at the prospect of France's being in possession of Naples and Sicily: that if Louis had rejected the will, the archduke would have had a double title derived from the former will, and that of the late king: that the Spaniards were so averse to the division of their monarchy, there would be a necessity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: that the ships to be furnished by Great Britain and Holland would not be sufficient for the purposes of such a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-General would engage themselves in a greater expense. He concluded with saying, that the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the king accepted purely from a desire of preserving the peace of Europe. His master hoped, therefore, that a good understanding would subsist between him and the King of Great Britain. The same reasons were communicated by Briod, the French ambassador at the Hague, to the States-General. Notwithstanding this address, they ordered their envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French king, expressing their surprise at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time specified for the emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his most Christian majesty would take the affair again into his consideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Louis, in his answer to this memorial, which he despatched to all the courts of Europe, declared, that what he chiefly considered was the principal design of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to his principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty.

With this answer he sent a letter to the states, giving them to understand, that the peace of Europe was so firmly established by the will of the King of Spain, in favour of his grandson, that he did not doubt their approbation of his succession to the Spanish crown. The states observed, that they could not declare themselves

The French king's apology for accepting the will.

The States General own Philip as King of Spain.

upon an affair of such consequence, without consulting their respective provinces. Louis admitted the excuse, and assured them of his readiness to concur with whatever they should desire for the security of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague presented them with a letter from his new master, who likewise notified his accession to all the powers of Europe, except the King of England. The emperor loudly exclaimed against the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himself justice by force of arms. The Spaniards, apprehending that a league would be formed between his imperial majesty and the maritime powers, for setting aside the succession of the Duke of Anjou, and conscious of their own inability to defend their dominions, resigned themselves entirely to the protection of the French monarch. The towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garrisons: a French squadron anchored in the port of Cadiz; and another was detached to the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were made prisoners of war, because they would not own the King of Spain, whom their masters had not yet acknowledged. The states were overwhelmed with consternation by this event, especially when they considered their own naked situation, and reflected that the Spanish garrisons might fall upon them before they could assemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was so imminent, that they resolved to acknowledge the King of Spain without further hesitation, and wrote a letter to the French king for that purpose; this was no sooner received, than orders were issued for sending back their battalions.

How warmly soever King William resented the conduct of the French king, in accepting the will so diametrically opposite to his engagements, he dissembled his chagrin; and behaved with such reserve and apparent indifference, that some people naturally believed he had been privy to the transaction. Others imagined that he was discouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily increased, as well as by the opposition in Parliament, to which he should be inevitably exposed. But his real aim was to conceal his sentiments, until he should have sounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and seen how far he could depend upon

A new ministry and a new Parliament.

his new ministry. He now seemed to repose his chief confidence in the Earl of Rochester, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed first commissioner of the treasury, Lord Tankerville succeeded Lord Lonsdale, lately deceased, as keeper of the privy seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Jersey; but the management of the Commons was entrusted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto opposed the measures of the court with equal virulence and ability. These new undertakers, well knowing they should find it very difficult, if not impossible, to secure a majority in the present Parliament, prevailed on the king to dissolve it by proclamation: then the sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs issued for a new Parliament to meet on the sixth day of February. During this interval, Count Wratislaw arrived in England, as ambassador from the emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spanish monarchy, supported by repeated entails and renunciations, confirmed in the most solemn treaties. This minister met with a very cold reception from those who stood at the helm of affairs. They sought to avoid all connexions that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the continent; smarting as they were from the losses and incumbrances which the last had entailed upon them and their posterity. They seemed to think that Louis, rather than involve himself in fresh troubles, would give all the security that could be desired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, should this be refused, they saw no reason for Britain's exhausting her wealth and strength to support a chimerical balance, in which her interest was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, she might render herself more respectable. Her reserve would overawe contending powers: they would in their turn sue for her assistance, and implore her good offices; and, instead of declaring herself a party, she would have the honour to decide as arbitress of their disputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and, in all probability, their notions were inflamed by a spirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adversaries, and detested the war, because it had been countenanced and supported by the interest of that party. The king believed, that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to

the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthusiast in his sentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himself, of all the potentates in Christendom, was the only prince capable of adjusting the balance. The imperial ambassador could not, therefore, be long ignorant of his real purpose, as he conversed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their master's design, though he avoided a declaration, until he should have rendered his ministers more propitious to his aim. The true secret, however, of that reserve with which Count Wratislaw was treated at his first arrival, was a private negotiation which the king had set on foot with the regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He proposed, that certain towns should be garrisoned with English and Dutch troops, by way of security against the ambitious designs of France; but the regency were so devoted to the French interest, that they refused to listen to any proposal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William resolved to maintain a wary distance from the emperor; but, when his effort miscarried, the ambassador found him much more open and accessible.\*

The Parliament, meeting on the sixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was chosen speaker by a great majority, in opposition to Sir Richard Onslow. The king had previously told Sir Thomas Lyttelton, it would be for his service that he should yield his pretensions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to absent himself from the House on the day of election. The king observed, in his speech, that the nation's loss, in the death of the Duke of Gloucester, had rendered it absolutely necessary for them to make further provision for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line; that the death of the King of Spain had

The Commons unpropitious to the court.

\* This year was distinguished by a glorious victory which the young King of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued invested by the King of Poland, while Peter, the Czar of Muscovy, made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the siege of Riga, and having supplied the place, marched with a handful of troops against the Muscovites who had undertaken the siege of Narva. The czar quitted his army with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and surprised the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the least intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a short resistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

made such an alteration in the affairs of the continent, as required their mature deliberation. The rest of his harangue turned upon the usual topics of demanding supplies for the ensuing year, reminding them of the deficiencies and public debts, recommending to their inquiry the state of the navy and fortifications; exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the tory interest, the ministry had secured but one part of that faction. Some of the most popular leaders, such as the Duke of Leeds, the Marquis of Normanby, the Earls of Nottingham, Seymour, Musgrave, Howe, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected, or found refractory, and resolved to oppose the court measures with all their influence. Besides, the French king, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great measure depend on the resolutions of the English Parliament, is said to have distributed great sums of money in England, by means of his minister Tallard, in order to strengthen the opposition in the House of Commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded, at this period, with the French coins called louis-d'ors and pistoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favour of England, or to the largesses of Louis, we shall not pretend to determine. We may likewise observe, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had never been so flagrant as in the choice of representatives for this Parliament. This scandalous traffic had been chiefly carried on by the whig party, and, therefore, their antagonists resolved to spare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour distinguished himself by his zeal and activity; he brought some of these practices to light, and, in particular, stigmatized the new East India Company, for having been deeply concerned in this species of venality. An inquiry being set on foot in the House of Commons, several elections were declared void; and divers persons, who had been illegally returned, were first expelled the House, and afterwards detained in prison. Yet these prosecutions were carried on with such partiality, as plainly indicated that they flowed rather from party zeal than from patriotism.

A great body of the Commons had resolved to present an address to his majesty, desiring he would acknowledge the King of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would

have been carried by a considerable majority, had not one  
The Lords  
are more  
conde-  
scending. bold and lucky expression given such a turn to the  
debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to desist. One Mr. Monckton, in the heat of his declamation  
against this measure, said he expected the next vote would  
be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Though  
there was little or no connexion between these two subjects,  
a great many members were startled at the insinuation, and  
deserted the measure, which was dropped accordingly. The  
king's speech being taken into consideration, the House re-  
solved to support his majesty and his government; to take  
such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest  
and safety of England, and the preservation of the Protestant  
religion. This resolution was presented in an address to the  
king, who received it favourably. At the same time, he  
laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-  
General, and desired their advice and assistance in the points  
that constituted the substance of this remonstrance. The  
states gave him to understand, that they had acknowledged  
the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain: that France had  
agreed to a negotiation, in which they might stipulate the  
necessary conditions for securing the peace of Europe: and  
that they were firmly resolved to do nothing without the  
concurrence of his majesty and their other allies. They  
therefore begged he would send a minister to the Hague,  
with necessary powers and instructions to co-operate with  
them in this negotiation; they told him that, in case it  
should prove ineffectual, or Holland be suddenly invaded by  
the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their  
frontiers, they relied on the assistance of England, and hoped  
his majesty would prepare the succours stipulated by treaty,  
to be used, should occasion require. The memorial was like-  
wise communicated to the House of Lords. Meanwhile, the  
Commons desired that the treaties between England and the  
States-General should be laid before their House. These  
being perused they resolved upon an address, to desire his  
majesty would enter into such negotiations with the States-  
General, and other potentates, as might most effectually  
conduce to the mutual safety of Great Britain and the  
United Provinces, as well as to the preservation of the  
peace of Europe, and to assure him of their support and  
assistance, in performance of the treaty subsisting between  
England and the States-General. This resolution, however,

was not carried without great opposition from those who were averse to the nation's involving itself in another war upon the continent. The king professed himself extremely well pleased with this address, and told them he would immediately order his ministers abroad to act in concert with the States-General and other powers, for the attainment of those ends they proposed.

He communicated to the Commons a letter written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, governor to the pretended Prince of Wales. It had been mislaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a scheme for another invasion of England, together with some reflections

An intercepted letter from the Earl of Melfort to his brother.

on the character of the Earl of Middleton, who had supplanted him at the court of St. Germain's. Melfort was a mere projector, and seems to have had no other view than that of recommending himself to King James, and bringing his rival into disgrace. The House of Lords, to whom the letter was also imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day they presented an address, thanking his majesty for his care of the Protestant religion; desiring all the treaties made since the last war might be laid before them; requesting him to engage in such alliances as he should think proper for preserving the balance of power in Europe; assuring him of their concurrence; expressing their acknowledgment for his having communicated Melfort's letter; desiring he would give orders for seizing the horses and arms of disaffected persons; for removing Papists from London; and for searching after those arms and provisions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requested him to equip speedily a sufficient fleet for the defence of himself and his kingdom. They received a gracious answer to this address, which was a further encouragement to the king to put his own private designs in execution: towards the same end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and resentment of the nation against France, which in vain disclaimed the Earl of Melfort as a fantastical schemer, to whom no regard was paid at the court of Versailles. The French ministry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to sow jealousy between the two crowns; and, as a convincing proof of their sincerity, banished the Earl of Melfort to Angers.

The credit of exchequer bills was so lowered by the

change of the ministry, and the lapse of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent., to the prejudice of the revenue, and the discredit of the government in foreign countries. The Commons, having taken this affair into consideration, voted, that provision should be made, from time to time, for making good the principal and interest due on all parliamentary funds; and afterwards passed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called exchequer bills. This was sent up to the Lords on the sixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal assent. The next object that engrossed the attention of the Commons was the settlement of the succession to the throne, which the king had recommended to their consideration in the beginning of the session. Having deliberated on this subject, they resolved, that for the preservation of the peace and happiness of the kingdom, and the security of the Protestant religion, it was absolutely necessary that a further declaration should be made of the limitation and succession of the crown in the Protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively: and, that further provision should be first made for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, that some conditions of government might be settled as preliminaries, before they should proceed to the nomination of the persons, that their security might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this subject, and agreed to the following resolutions: that whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the church of England as by law established: that, in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without the consent of Parliament: that no person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of Parliament: that from and after the time that the further limitation by this act shall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy council, by the laws and customs of the realm, shall

Succession  
of the  
crown set-  
tled upon  
the Princess  
Sophia,  
Electress-  
dowager of  
Hanover,  
and the  
Protestant  
heirs of her  
body.



be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be signed by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same : that, after the limitation shall take effect, no person born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen, (except such as are born of English parents,) shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trust either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments, from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him : that no person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as member of the House of Commons : that, after the limitation shall take effect, judges' commissions be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries ascertained and established ; but upon the address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them : that no pardon under the great seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament. Having settled these preliminaries, they resolved that the Princess Sophia, Duchess-dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the Protestant line, after his majesty and the princess, and the heirs of their bodies respectively : and, that the further limitation of the crown be to the said Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. A bill being formed on these resolutions was sent up to the House of Lords, where it met with some opposition from the Marquis of Normanby : a protest was likewise entered against it by the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guilford and Jeffries. Nevertheless, it passed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal assent : the king was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he considered as an open insult on his own conduct and administration : not but that they were necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne of England. As the tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late king's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion to wipe off the aspersion, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people ; hoping that in the sequel

they should be able to restrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the continent, without incurring the charge of disaffection to the present king and government. The act of settlement being passed, the Earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the Electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter.

The act of succession gave umbrage to all the popish princes who were more nearly related to the crown than this lady, whom the Parliament had preferred to all others. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter to King Charles I., by her mother, ordered her ambassador, Count Maffei, to make a protestation to the Parliament of England, in her name, against all resolutions and decisions contrary to her title, as sole daughter to the Princess Henrietta, next in succession to the crown of England, after King William and the Princess Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this protest Maffei sent in letters to the lord keeper and the speaker of the Lower House, by two of his gentlemen, and a public notary to attest the delivery; but no notice was taken of the declaration. The Duke of Savoy, while his minister was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the crowns of France and Spain, on condition that his Catholic majesty should espouse his youngest daughter without a dowry. That he himself should command the allied army in Italy, and furnish eight thousand infantry, with five-and-twenty hundred horse, in consideration of a monthly subsidy of fifty thousand crowns.

During these transactions, Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat with the ministers of France and Spain, according to the addresses of both Houses of Parliament. He represented, that though his most Christian majesty had thought fit to deviate from the partition treaty, it was not reasonable that the King of England should lose the effect of that convention; he, therefore, expected some security for the peace of Europe; and for that purpose insisted upon certain articles, importing, that the French king should immediately withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands: that, for the security of England, the cities of Ostend and Nieuport should be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majesty: that no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, should ever be

The Duchess of Savoy protests against this act.

Ineffectual negotiation with France.

yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever: that the subjects of his Britannic majesty should retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majesty; and also all such immunities, rights, and franchises, as the subjects of France, or any other power, either possess for the present, or may enjoy for the future: that all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain should be renewed; and, that a treaty formed on these demands should be guaranteed by such powers as one or other of the contractors should solicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewise were the proposals made by the States-General, with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the strongest places in the Netherlands. Count d'Avaux, the French minister, was so surprised at these exorbitant demands, that he could not help saying, they could not have been higher if his master had lost four successive battles. He assured them, that his most Christian majesty would withdraw his troops from the Spanish Netherlands, as soon as the King of Spain should have forces of his own sufficient to guard the country: with respect to the other articles, he could give no other answer, but that he would immediately transmit them to Versailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the insolent strain of those proposals, which he considered as a sure mark of William's hostile intentions. He refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick; and he is said to have tampered, by means of his agents and emissaries, with the members of the English Parliament, that they might oppose all steps tending to a new war on the continent.

King William certainly had no expectation that France would close with such proposals; but he was not without hope, that her refusal would warm the English nation into a concurrence with his designs. He communicated to the House of Commons the demands which had been made by him and the States-General; and gave them to understand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. The Commons, suspecting that his intention was to make them parties in a congress which he might conduct to a different end from that which they proposed,

Severe addresses from both Houses in relation to the partition treaty.

resolved to signify their sentiments in the answer to this message. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an address of thanks to his majesty, for his most gracious declaration that he would make them acquainted with the progress of the negotiation; but they signified their disapprobation of the partition treaty, signed with the great seal of England, without the advice of the Parliament, which was then sitting, and productive of ill consequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it assigned over to the French king such a large portion of the Spanish dominions. Nothing could be more mortifying to the king than this open attack upon his own conduct; yet he suppressed his resentment, and without taking the least notice of their sentiments with respect to the partition treaty, assured them, that he should be always ready to receive their advice on the negotiation which he had set on foot, according to their desire. The debates in the House of Commons upon the subject of the partition treaty rose to such violence, that divers members in declaiming against it transgressed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the division which had been made of the Spanish territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not scruple to say it was a felonious treaty; an expression which the king resented to such a degree, that he declared he would have demanded personal satisfaction with his sword, had he not been restrained by the disparity of condition between himself and the person who had offered such an outrageous insult to his honour. Whether the tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connexions, or to wreak their vengeance on the late ministers, whom they hated as the chiefs of the whig party, certain it is, they now raised an universal outcry against the partition treaty, which was not only condemned in public pamphlets and private conversation, but even brought into the House of Lords as an object of parliamentary censure. In the month of March a warm debate on this subject was begun by Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the same faction. They exclaimed against the article by which so many territories were added to the crown of France: they complained that the emperor had been forsaken; that the treaty was not communicated to the privy council or ministry, but clandestinely transacted by the Earls of Portland and Jersey;

that the sanction of the great seal had been unjustly and irregularly applied first to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itself. The courtiers replied, that the king had engaged in a treaty of partition at the desire of the emperor, who had agreed to every article, except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards desired, that his majesty would procure for him the best terms he could obtain; above all things recommending secrecy, that he might not forfeit his interest in Spain, by seeming to consent to the treaty: that foreign negotiations being entrusted to the care of the crown, the king lay under no legal obligation to communicate such secrets of state to his council; far less was he obliged to follow their advice; and that the keeper of the great seal had no authority for refusing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the king should grant or conclude, unless they were contrary to law, which had made no provision for such an emergency.<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Portland, apprehending that this tempest would burst upon his head, declared, on the second day of the debate, that he had by the king's order communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Lords Lonsdale, Somers, Halifax, and Secretary Vernon. These noblemen owned, that they had been made acquainted with the substance of it: that when they excepted to some particulars, they were told, his majesty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus assured that every article was already settled, they said they no longer insisted upon particulars, but gave their advice that his majesty should not engage himself in any measure that would produce a new war, seeing the nation had been so uneasy under the last. After long debates, and great variety as well as virulence of altercation, the House agreed to an address, in which they disapproved of the partition treaty, as a scheme inconsistent with the peace and safety of Europe, as well as prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain. They complained, that neither the instructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor the draft of the treaty itself, had been laid before his ma-

<sup>1</sup> In the course of this debate, the Earl of Rochester reprehended some lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French king, observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on peers to treat monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the crown. Another affirming, that the French king was not only to be respected, but likewise to be feared, a certain lord replied, "He hoped no man in England need to be afraid of the French king, much less the peer who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that monarch to fear any thing from his resentment."

jesty's council. They humbly besought him that, for the future, he would, in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural-born subjects of known probity and fortune; and that he would constitute a council of such persons, to whom he might impart all affairs which should any way concern him and his dominions. They observed, that interest and natural affection to their country would incline them to every measure that might tend to its welfare and prosperity; whereas strangers could not be so much influenced by these considerations: that their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be of advising his majesty touching the true interests of his kingdom: that they had exhibited such repeated demonstrations of their duty and affection, as must convince his majesty of their zeal in his service; nor could he want the knowledge of persons fit to be employed in all his secret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French king appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they advised his majesty, in future negotiations with that prince, to proceed with such caution as might imply a real security.

The king received this severe remonstrance with his usual phlegm, saying, it contained matter of very great moment; and he would take care that all treaties he made should be for the honour and safety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new ministers; but he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite measure, and humble him into a dependence upon their interest in Parliament. On the last day of March, he imparted to the Commons the French king's declaration, that he would grant no other security than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick: so that the negotiation seemed to be at an end. He likewise communicated two resolutions of the States-General, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ships they had equipped with a view to join the English fleet, and the succours stipulated, in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they desired might be sent over with all convenient expedition. The House, having considered this message, unanimously resolved to desire his majesty would carry on the negotiations in concert with the States-General,

Burnet.  
 Oldmixon.  
 Cole.  
 Lamberty.  
 State  
 Tracts.  
 Tindal.  
 Ralph.  
 Voltaire.

William is  
 obliged to  
 acknow-  
 ledge the  
 King of  
 Spain.

1701.

and take such measures therein as might most conduce to their safety: they assured him, they would effectually enable him to support the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to assist them with ten thousand men, and twenty ships of war, in case they should be attacked. Though the king was nettled at that part of this address which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their disapprobation of a new confederacy, he discovered no signs of emotion; but thanked them for the assurance they had given, and told them he had sent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April, the Marquis de Torcy delivered to the Earl of Manchester, at Paris, a letter from the new King of Spain to his Britannic majesty, notifying his accession to that throne, and expressing a desire of cultivating a mutual friendship with the king and crown of England. How averse soever William might have been to any correspondence of this sort, the Earl of Rochester and the new ministers importuned him in such a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their entreaties, and wrote a civil answer to his most Catholic majesty. This was a very alarming incident to the emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to send Prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take possession of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new pope, Clement XI., who had succeeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French interest: the Venetians favoured the emperor; but they refused to declare themselves at this juncture.

The French king consented to a renewal of the negotiations at the Hague; but, in the mean time, tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a separate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the King of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the princes of the empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the states of Italy. The Dutch, meanwhile, exerted themselves in providing for their own security. They reinforced the garrisons, purchased supplies, and solicited succours from foreign potentates. The states wrote a letter to King William, explaining the danger of their situation, professing the most inviolable

The two Houses seem to enter into the king's measures.

attachment to the interest of England, and desiring that the stipulated number of troops should be sent immediately to their assistance. The three Scottish regiments which he had retained in his own pay were immediately transported from Scotland. The letter of the States-General he communicated to the House of Commons, who, having taken it into consideration, resolved to assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediate succours for the States-General, according to the treaty of 1677. The House of Peers, to whom the letter was also communicated, carried their zeal still farther. They presented an address, in which they desired his majesty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-General, but also engage with them in a strict league, offensive and defensive, for their common preservation; and invite into it all the princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger arising from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into such alliances with the emperor, as his majesty should think necessary, pursuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year 1689. They assured him of their hearty and sincere assistance, not doubting that Almighty God would protect his sacred person in so righteous a cause; and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war. Lastly, they took leave humbly to represent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been exposed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counsels that prevented his majesty's sooner meeting his people in Parliament.

These proceedings of both Houses could not but be very agreeable to the king, who expressed his satisfaction in his answer to each apart. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time considerable progress was made in a design to impeach the old ministry. This deviation, therefore, from the tenor of their former conduct could be owing to no other motive than a sense of their own danger, and resentment against France, which, even during the negotiation, had been secretly employed in making preparations to surprise and distress the States-General. The Commons, having expressed their sentiments on this subject, resumed the consideration of the partition treaty. They had appointed a committee to

The Commons resolve to wreak their vengeance on the old ministry.



examine the journals of the House of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the nation: after warm debates, they resolved, that William, Earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Leveson Gower to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords; and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the Lords, they desired to know the particulars of what had passed between the Earl of Portland and Secretary Vernon, in relation to the partition treaty, as also what other information they had obtained concerning negotiations or treaties of partition of the Spanish monarchy. The Lords demurring to this demand, the Lower House resolved to address the king, that copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and instructions for negotiating those treaties, should be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords sent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jersey, for signing both treaties of partition. The House afterwards ordered, that Mr. Secretary Vernon should lay before them all the letters which had passed between the Earl of Portland and him, in relation to those treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more scandalously partial than the conduct of the Commons on this occasion. They resolved to screen the Earl of Jersey, Sir Joseph Williamson, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that transaction; and pointed all their vengeance against the Earls of Portland and Orford, and the Lords Somers and Halifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a prisoner in Newgate, to accuse Lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the House, and examined: but he declared that he had never spoke to Lord Somers; and that he had no order from those concerned in the ship but that of pursuing his voyage against the pirates in Madagascar. Finding him unfit for their purpose, they left him to the course of law; and he was hanged with some of his accomplices.

Lord Somers, understanding that he was accused in the

House of Commons of having consented to the partition treaty, desired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His request being granted, he told the House, that when he received the king's letter concerning the partition treaty, with an order to send over the necessary powers in the most secret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a stop to a treaty of such consequence, when the life of the King of Spain was so precarious; for had the king died before the treaty was finished, and he been blamed for delaying the necessary powers, he could not have justified his own conduct, since the king's letter was really a warrant: that, nevertheless, he had written a letter to his majesty, objecting to several particulars in the treaty, and proposing other articles which he thought were for the interest of his country: that he thought himself bound to put the great seal to the treaty when it was concluded: that, as a privy-counsellor, he had offered his best advice, and as chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his justification gave rise to a long debate, which ended in a resolution, carried by a majority of seven voices, that John Lord Somers, by advising his majesty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spanish monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. Votes to the same effect were passed against Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Halifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the Upper House. But the Commons knowing that those impeachments would produce nothing in the House of Lords, where the opposite interest predominated, they resolved to proceed against the accused noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove them from his councils and presence for ever, as advisers of a treaty so pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded by repeating their assurance, that they would always stand by and support his majesty, to the utmost of their power, against all his enemies both at home and abroad. The king, in his answer, artfully overlooked the first part of the remonstrance. He thanked them for their repeated assurances; and told them he would employ none in his service but such as should be thought

most likely to improve that mutual trust and confidence between him and his people, which was so necessary at that conjuncture, both for their own security and the preservation of their allies.

The Lords, incensed at this step of the Commons, which they considered as an insult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common justice, drew up and delivered a counter-address, humbly beseeching his majesty, that he would not pass any censure upon the accused lords until they should be tried on the impeachments, and judgments be given according to usage of Parliament. The king was so perplexed by these opposite representations, that he knew not well what course to follow. He made no reply to the counter-address; but allowed the names of the impeached lords to remain in the council-books. The Commons having carried their point, which was to stigmatize those noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, suffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themselves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the House of Lords sent a message to the Commons, importing, that no articles had as yet been exhibited against the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up against the Earl of Orford: him they accused of having received exorbitant grants from the crown; of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate; of having committed abuses in managing and victualling the fleet, when it lay on the coast of Spain; and lastly, of having advised the partition treaty. The earl in his own defence declared, that he had received no grant from the king, except a very distant reversion, and a present of ten thousand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the public, though to his own loss: that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded had been examined and passed; yet he was ready to waive the advantage, and justify himself in every particular; and he absolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accused of having set the seals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties; of having accepted some grants; of having been an accomplice with Kidd; and of having some guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in Chancery. He answered every article in the charge; but

no replication was made by the Commons, either to him or to the Earl of Orford. When the Commons were stimulated by another message from the Peers, relating to the impeachments of the Earl of Portland and Lord Halifax, they declined exhibiting articles against the former, on pretence of respect for his majesty; but on the fourteenth of June the charge against Halifax was sent up to the Lords. He was taxed with possessing a grant in Ireland, without paying the produce of it, according to the law lately enacted concerning those grants; with enjoying another grant out of the forest of Deane, to the waste of the timber and the prejudice of the navy; with having held places that were incompatible, by being at the same time commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and with having advised the two treaties of partition. He answered, that his grant in Ireland was of debts and sums of money, and within the act concerning confiscated estates; that all he had ever received from it did not exceed four hundred pounds, which, if he was bound to repay, a common action would lie against him; but every man was not to be impeached who did not discharge his debts at the very day of payment. He observed, that as his grant in the forest of Deane extended to weedings only, it could occasion no waste of timber, nor prejudice to the navy: that the auditor's place was held by another person, until he obtained the king's leave to withdraw from the treasury: that he never saw the first treaty of partition, nor was his advice asked upon the subject: that he had never heard of the second but once before it was concluded; and then he spoke his sentiments freely on the subject. This answer, like the others, would have been neglected by the Commons, whose aim was now to evade the trials, had not the Lords pressed them by messages to expedite the articles. They even appointed a day for Orford's trial, and signified their resolution to the Commons. These desired that a committee of both Houses should be named for settling preliminaries, one of which was, that the lord to be tried should not sit as a peer; and the other imported, that those lords impeached for the same matter should not vote on the trial of each other. They likewise desired, that Lord Somers should be first tried. The Lords made no objection to this last demand; but they rejected the proposal of a committee consisting of both Houses, alleging, that the

Commons were parties, and had no title to sit in equality with the judges, or to settle matters relating to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of justice, and never practised in any court or nation. The Lords, indeed, had yielded to this expedient in the popish plot, because it was a case of treason, in which the king's life and safety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the court, and the whole nation was in a ferment; but at present the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than misdemeanours; therefore the Lords could not assent to such a proposal as was derogatory from their jurisdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but, on the twelfth day of June, resolved, that no peer impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours should, upon his trial, be without the bar; and that no peer impeached could be precluded from voting on any occasion, except in his own trial. Divers messages passed between the two Houses, the Commons still insisting upon a committee to settle preliminaries: at length the dispute was brought to a free conference.

Meanwhile, the king going to the House of Peers gave the royal assent to the bill of succession. In his speech he expressed his warm acknowledgments for their repeated assurances of supporting him in such alliances as should be most proper for the preservation of the liberty of Europe, and for the security of England and the States-General. He observed, that the season of the year was advanced; that the posture of affairs absolutely required his presence abroad; and he recommended despatch of the public business, especially of those matters which were of the greatest importance. The Commons thanked him, in an address, for having approved of their proceedings: they declared they would support him in such alliances as he should think fit to make, in conjunction with the emperor and the States-General, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they resumed their dispute with the Upper House. In the free conference, Lord Haversham happened to tax the Commons with partiality, in impeaching some lords and screening others who were equally guilty of the same misdemeanours. Sir Christopher Musgrave, and the managers for the Commons, immediately withdrew: this unguarded sally being reported

The House  
of Peers  
acquits the  
impeached  
lords.

to the House, they immediately resolved that John Lord Haversham had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions, highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the House of Commons, tending to a breach in the good correspondence between the two Houses and to the interruption of the public justice of the nation: that the said Lord Haversham should be charged before the Lords for the said words: that the Lords should be desired to proceed in justice against him, and to inflict upon him such punishment as so high an offence against the Commons did deserve. The Commons had now found a pretence to justify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they should have received satisfaction. Lord Haversham offered to submit to a trial; but insisted on their first proving the words which he was said to have spoken. When this declaration was imparted to the Commons, they said, the Lords ought to have censured him in a summary way, and still refused to renew the conference. The Lords, on the other hand, came to a resolution, that there should not be a committee of both Houses concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they resolved, that Lord Somers should be tried at Westminster-hall, on Tuesday, the seventeenth day of June, and signified this resolution to the Lower House; reminding them, at the same time, of the articles against the Earl of Portland. The Commons refused to appear, alleging they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. They sent up the reasons of their non-appearance to the House of Lords, where they were supported by the new ministry and all the malecontents, and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piecemeal, by dint of different votes, against which very severe protests were entered. On the day appointed for the trial, they sent a message to the Commons, that they were going to Westminster-hall. The other impeached Lords asked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment against Lord Somers and his answers being read in Westminster-hall, and the Commons not appearing to prosecute, the Lords adjourned to their own House, where they debated concerning the question that was to be put. This being settled, they returned to Westminster-hall; and the question being put, "that John Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him, exhibited by the House of

Commons, and all things therein contained, and that the impeachment be dismissed," it was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The Commons, exasperated at these proceedings, resolved, that the Lords had refused justice to the Commons: that they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachment lodged in the Commons by the ancient constitution of the kingdom: that all the ill consequences which might attend the delay of the supplies given for the preservation of the public peace, and the maintenance of the balance of Europe, would be owing to those who, to procure an indemnity for their own crimes, had used their utmost endeavours to make a breach between the two Houses. The Lords sent a message to the Commons, giving them to understand that they had acquitted Lord Somers, and dismissed the impeachment, as nobody had appeared to support the articles; and that they had appointed next Monday for the trial of the Earl of Orford. They resolved, that unless the charge against Lord Haversham should be prosecuted by the Commons before the end of the session, the Lords would adjudge him innocent: that the resolutions of the Commons on their late votes contained most unjust reflections on the honour and justice of the Peers: that they were contrived to cover their affected and unreasonable delays in prosecuting the impeached lords: that they manifestly tended to the destruction of the judicature of the Lords; to the rendering trials on impeachments impracticable for the future, and to the subverting the constitution of the English government: that, therefore, whatever ill consequences might arise from the so long deferring the supplies for this year's service were to be attributed to the fatal counsel of the putting off the meeting of a Parliament so long, and to the unnecessary delays of the House of Commons. On the twenty-third day of June, the articles of impeachment against Edward Earl of Orford were read in Westminster-hall; but the House of Commons having previously ordered that none of the members should appear at this pretended trial, those articles were not supported; so that his lordship was acquitted, and the impeachment dismissed. Next day, the impeachments against the Duke of Leeds, which had lain seven years neglected, together with those against the Earl of Portland and Lord Halifax, as well as the charge against Lord Haversham, were dismissed for want of prosecution. Each House ordered a narrative of

these proceedings to be published; and their mutual animosity had proceeded to such a degree of rancour, as seemed to preclude all possibility of reconciliation. The Commons, in the whole course of this transaction, had certainly acted from motives of faction and revenge; for nothing could be more unjust, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating address to the king, and their affected delay in the prosecutions. Their conduct on this occasion was so flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inspire the generality of the nation with disgust. This the whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and, in particular, by insinuating that the court of Versailles had found means to engage the majority of the Commons in its interest.

This faction had, since the beginning of this session, employed their emissaries in exciting a popular aversion to the tory ministers and members, and succeeded so well in their endeavours, that they formed a scheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that should induce the Commons to alter their conduct, on the supposition that it was contrary to the sense of the nation. In execution of this scheme, a petition, signed by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty justices of the peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been presented to the House of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and distinction. The purport of this remonstrance was to recommend union among themselves, and confidence in his majesty, whose great actions for the nation could never be forgotten without the blackest ingratitude; to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and safety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addresses might be turned into bills of supply; and that his most sacred majesty might be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it should be too late. The House was so incensed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it as scandalous, insolent, and seditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had presented it to be taken into custody. They were afterwards committed to the Gatehouse, where they remained till the prorogation of Parliament; but they had no reason to repine at their imprisonment, which recommended them to the notice and esteem of the public. They were visited and caressed by the chiefs of the whig interest, and considered as

Petition of  
Kent.



martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave rise to a very extraordinary paper, entitled "A memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the counties of —, in behalf of themselves and many thousands of the good people of England." It was signed *Legion*, and sent to the speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the House of Commons. In this strange expostulation, the House was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices in fifteen particulars: a new claim of right was ranged under seven heads; and the Commons were admonished to act according to their duty, as specified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the resentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in these words: "For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to kings—our name is *Legion*, and we are many." The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel De Foe, a scurrilous party-writer, in very little estimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the House: but a complaint being made of endeavours to raise tumults and seditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an address to his majesty, informing him of those seditious endeavours, and beseeching him to provide for the public peace and security.

The House, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France, and dreading the popular resentment, thought fit to change their measures with respect to this object, and present the address we have already mentioned, in which they promised to support him in the alliances he should contract with the emperor and other states, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewise proceeded in earnest upon the supply, and voted funds for raising about two millions seven hundred thousand pounds to defray the expense of the ensuing year. They voted thirty thousand seamen, and resolved that ten thousand troops should be transported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries stipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States-General. The funds were constituted of a land-tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the excise, so as to bring down the civil list to six hundred thousand pounds; as the Duke of Gloucester was dead, and James's queen refused her allow-

Favourable  
end of the  
session.

ance. They passed a bill for taking away all privileges of Parliament in legal prosecutions, during the intermediate prorogations: their last struggle with the Lords was concerning a bill for appointing commissioners to examine and state the public accounts. The persons nominated for this purpose were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the Peers, as violent partisans of the tory faction: when the bill, therefore, was sent up to the Lords, they made some amendments, which the Commons rejected. The former animosity between the two Houses began to revive, when the king interrupted their disputes, by putting an end to the session, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the Parliament for their zeal in the public service, and exhorted them to a discharge of their duties in their several counties. He was, no doubt, extremely pleased with such an issue of a session that had begun with a very inauspicious aspect. His health daily declined; but he concealed the decay of his constitution, that his allies might not be discouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was deemed the head and chief support. He conferred the command of the ten thousand troops destined for Holland upon the Earl of Marlborough, and appointed him at the same time his plenipotentiary to the States-General: a choice that evinced his discernment and discretion; for that nobleman surpassed all his contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and persevering; plausible, insinuating, artful, and dissembling.

A regency being established, the king embarked for Holland in the beginning of July. On his arrival at the Hague he assisted at an assembly of the States-General, whom he harangued in very affectionate terms, and was answered with great cordiality; then he made a progress round the frontiers, to examine the state of the garrisons; and gave such orders and directions as he judged necessary for the defence of the country. Meanwhile the French minister, D'Avaux, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the states from the French king, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected; but he assured them it wholly depended upon themselves, whether they should continue to receive marks of his ancient friendship for their republic. The letter was accompanied by an insolent memorial, to which the States-General

Progress of  
Prince  
Eugene in  
Italy.

returned a very spirited answer. As they expected nothing now but hostilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the King of Denmark, who undertook to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a subsidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland; but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her mediation between those powers, in hopes of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the court of Vienna had tampered with the King of Poland; but he persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their sovereign, and resented his economy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expense of the court which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the Duke of Savoy, assisted by Mareschal Catinat and the Prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement; but Mareschal Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August, with orders to attack the imperialists, Catinat retired in disgust. The new general marched immediately towards Chiari, where Prince Eugene was intrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with such a reception, that he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign the prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Goito, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the most invincible courage, indefatigable vigilance, and extensive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh surprised Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered: Villeroy being wakened by the noise,

ran out into the street, where he was taken; and the town must have been infallibly reduced, had Prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmesan, and secure the bridge. These not arriving at the time appointed, an Irish regiment in the French service took possession of the bridge, and the prince was obliged to retire with his prisoner.

The French king, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the imperial general, sent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the Duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country; he likewise importuned the Duke of Savoy to assist him effectually; but that prince, having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His second daughter was by this time married to the new King of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where he found himself involved in disputes with the states of Catalonia, who refused to pay a tax he had imposed, until their privileges should be confirmed; and he was obliged to gratify them in this particular. The war continued to rage in the north. The young King of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danube; thence he marched into Courland, and took possession of Mittau without opposition; while the King of Poland retired into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emissaries endeavoured to sow the seeds of a new revolt. They exerted themselves with indefatigable industry in almost every court of Christendom. They had already gained over the Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Elector of Cologn, together with the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, who professed neutrality, while they levied troops, and made such preparations for war, as plainly indicated that they had received subsidies from France. Louis had also extorted a treaty of alliance from the King of Portugal, who was personally attached to the Austrian interest; but this weak prince was a slave to his ministers, whom the French king had corrupted. During this summer, the French coasts were overawed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who sailed down the channel in the latter end of August, and detached Vice-Admiral Benbow with a strong squadron to the West Indies. In order to deceive the French king with regard to the destination of this fleet, King William demanded the free use of the Spanish har-

Sketch of  
the situa-  
tion of  
affairs in  
Europe.

bours, as if his design had been to send a squadron to the Mediterranean; but he met with a repulse, while the French ships were freely admitted. About this period the king revoked his letters patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and constituted the Earl of Pembroke Lord High Admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the disputes, and divided counsels of a board. The earl was no sooner promoted to this office, than he sent Captain Loades with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the sea stores and effects belonging to the English in that place, before the war should commence; and this piece of service was successfully performed. The French king, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, established a company to open a trade with Mexico and Peru; and concluded a new Assiento treaty for supplying the Spanish plantations with negroes. At the same time he sent a strong squadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dress was introduced into the court of Spain; and, by a formal edict, the *grandees* of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation. There was no vigour left in the counsels of Spain: her finances were exhausted, and her former spirit seemed to be quite extinguished; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and distress. The condition of France was not much more prosperous. She had been harassed by a long war, and now saw herself on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miserable.

These circumstances were well known to the emperor and the maritime powers, and served to animate their negotiations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the seventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his imperial majesty, England, and the States-General. The objects proposed were, to procure satisfaction to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for the dominions and commerce of the allies. They engaged to use their endeavours for recovering the Spanish Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the emperor in possession of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and islands upon the coast of Tuscany belonging to the Spanish dominions. They agreed that the King of England and the

Treaty of  
alliance be-  
tween the  
emperor  
and the  
maritime  
powers.

States-General should keep and possess whatever lands and cities they should conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies : that the confederates should faithfully communicate their designs to one another : that no party should treat of peace, or truce, but jointly with the rest : that they should concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the same government ; and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish Indies : that, in concluding a peace, the confederates should provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and secure the states by a barrier : that they should, at the same time, settle the exercise of religion in the new conquests : that they should assist one another with all their forces, in case of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance : that a defensive alliance should remain between them, even after the peace : that all kings, princes, and states, should be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months, to obtain by amicable means the satisfaction and security which they demanded ; and stipulated, that within six weeks the treaty should be ratified.

On the sixteenth day of September, King James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indisposition. This unfortunate monarch, since the miscarriage of his last attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aside all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his soul. Though he could not prevent the busy genius of his queen from planning new schemes of restoration, he was always best pleased when wholly detached from such chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diversion ; but religion was his constant care. Nothing could be more harmless than the life he led ; and, in the course of it, he subjected himself to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seem to have vanished with his greatness. He became affable, kind, and easy to all his dependents ; and his religion certainly opened and improved the virtues of his heart, though it seemed to impair the faculties of his soul. In his last illness he conjured his son to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even

Death of  
King  
James.

to renounce all thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of justice and Christian forgiveness; he himself declaring, that he heartily forgave the Prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

Before his death he was visited by the French king, who seemed touched with his condition, and declared that, in case of his death, he would own his son as King of England. This promise James's queen had already extorted from him, by the interest of Madame de Maintenon and the dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended Prince of Wales was proclaimed King of England at St. Germain's, and treated as such at the court of Versailles. His title was likewise recognized by the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no sooner informed of this transaction, than he despatched a courier to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryswick, to complain of this manifest violation. At the same time, he recalled the Earl of Manchester from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the Marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Louis, in vindication of his own conduct, dispersed through all the courts of Europe a manifesto, in which he affirmed, that, in owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryswick. He confessed, that in the fourth article he had promised that he would not disturb the King of Great Britain in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to observe that promise punctually. He observed, that his generosity would not allow him to abandon the Prince of Wales or his family: that he could not refuse him a title which was due to him by birth: that he had more reason to complain of the King of Great Britain, and the States-General, whose declarations and preparations in favour of the emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted some instances from history, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had lost. These reasons, however, would hardly have induced the French

The French king owns the pretended Prince of Wales as King of England.

king to take such a step, had he not perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he should be able to reap some advantages in the course of it, from espousing the cause of the pretender.

The substance of the French manifesto was published in London, by Poussin, the secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England as agent for the court of Versailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Louis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their sovereign. The city of London presented an address to the lords justices, expressing the deepest resentment of the French king's presumption; assuring his majesty that they would at all times exert the utmost of their abilities for the preservation of his person, and the defence of his just rights in opposition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addresses of the same nature were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted measures for acting with vigour against France; and he resolved to revisit his kingdom, after having made a considerable progress in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the States-General, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his plenipotentiary, the Earl of Marlborough. The king's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a severe indisposition, during which the Spanish minister De Quiros hired certain physicians to consult together upon the state and nature of his distemper. They declared, that he could not live many weeks; and this opinion was transmitted to Madrid. William, however, baffled the prognostic, though his constitution had sustained such a rude shock, that he himself perceived his end was near. He told the Earl of Portland he found himself so weak, that he could not expect to live another summer; but charged him to conceal this circumstance until he should be dead. Notwithstanding this near approach to dissolution, he exerted himself with surprising diligence and spirit in establishing the confederacy, and settling the plan of operations. A subsidiary treaty was concluded with the King of Prussia, who engaged to furnish a certain number of troops. The emperor agreed to maintain ninety thousand men in the field against France: the proportion of the states was limited to one hundred and two thousand; and that of England did not exceed forty thousand, to act in conjunction with the allies.

Addresses  
to King  
William on  
that sub-  
ject.



On the fourth day of November the king arrived in England, which he found in a strange ferment, produced from the mutual animosity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falsehood of calumny, and all the bitterness of rancour : so that truth, candour, and temperance seemed to be banished by consent of both parties. The king had found himself deceived in his new ministers, who had opposed his measures with all their influence. He was particularly disgusted with the deportment of the Earl of Rochester, who proved altogether imperious and untractable, and instead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The king declared the year in which that nobleman directed his councils was the uneasiest of his whole life. He could not help expressing his displeasure in such a coldness of reserve, that Rochester told him he would serve his majesty no longer, since he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no answer to this expostulation, but resolved he should see him no more. The earl, however, at the desire of Mr. Harley, became more pliant and submissive ; and after the king's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William, foreseeing nothing but opposition from the present spirit of the House of Commons, closeted some of their leaders with a view to bespeak their compliance ; but finding them determined to pursue their former principles, and to insist upon their impeachments, he resolved, with the advice of his friends, to dissolve the Parliament. This step he was the more easily induced to take, as the Commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance against the French monarch. The Parliament was accordingly dissolved by proclamation, and another summoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December.

Never did the two parties proceed with such heat and violence against each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The whigs, however, obtained the victory, as they included the monied interest, which will always prevail among the borough electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce ; and, had not the people been so universally venal and profligate that no sense of shame remained, the victors must have blushed for their

The king's last speech to both Houses received with great applause.

success. Though the majority thus obtained was staunch to the measures of the court, the choice of speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the king, who favoured Sir Thomas Lyttelton: but his majesty's speech was received with universal applause. It was so much admired by the well-wishers to the Revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the English, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houses, and as the king's last legacy to his own and all Protestant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation, by the French king's acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales: he explained the dangers to which it was exposed by his placing his grandson on the throne of Spain: he gave them to understand he had concluded several alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both Houses of Parliament, which alliances should be laid before them, together with other treaties still depending. He observed, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this Parliament, and all matters at a stand until their resolution should be known; therefore no time ought to be lost. He told them, they had yet an opportunity to secure for themselves and their posterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themselves, but would exert the ancient vigour of the English nation; but he declared his opinion was, that, should they neglect this occasion, they had no reason to hope for another. He said it would be necessary to maintain a great strength at sea, and a force on land proportionable to that of their allies. He pressed the Commons to support the public credit, which could not be preserved without keeping sacred that maxim, that they shall never be losers who trust to the parliamentary security. He declared, that he never asked aids from his people without regret; that what he desired was for their own safety and honour, at such a critical time; and that the whole should be appropriated to the purposes for which it was intended. He expressed his willingness that the accounts should be yearly submitted to the inspection of Parliament. He again recommended despatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and suppressing vice. He expressed his hope that they were come together determined to avoid disputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause. He said, he should think it as

great a blessing as could befall England, if they were as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divided and weakened them, as he was disposed to make all his subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest, offences, committed against his person. He conjured them to disappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always shown, and always would show, how desirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he desired they would lay aside parties and divisions, so as that no distinction should be heard of amongst them, but of those who were friends to the Protestant religion and present establishment, and of those who wished for a popish prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming that if they, in good earnest, desired to see England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it would appear by their improving the present opportunity. The Lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate address, in which they expressed their resentment of the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. They assured his majesty they would assist him to the utmost of their power against all his enemies; and when it should please God to deprive them of his majesty's protection, they would vigorously assist and defend against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatsoever, every person and persons who had right to succeed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of Parliament for establishing and limiting the succession. On the fifth day of January, an address to the same effect was presented by the Commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his majesty. The Lords, as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into consideration the dangers that threatened Europe from the accession of the Duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, drew up another address, explaining their sense of that danger; stigmatizing the French king as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion that his majesty, his subjects, and allies, could never be safe and secure until the house of Austria should be restored to their rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason; and assuring his majesty that no time should be lost, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might answer the reasonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to support the reputation of the English name, when engaged

under so great a prince, in the glorious cause of maintaining the liberty of Europe.

The king, in order to acquire the confidence of the Commons, ordered Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were so well approved, that the House unanimously voted the supply. By another vote, they authorized the exchequer to borrow six hundred thousand pounds at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of guards and garrisons. They deliberated upon the state of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an estimate of what would be necessary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no provision had been made. They ordered the speaker to write to the trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, to attend the House with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of Parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimously resolved that leave be given to bring in a bill for securing his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. They resolved to address his majesty, that he would insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing that no peace should be made with France until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thousand men for the sea service, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, according to the proportions settled by the contracting powers. The supplies were raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions: by a tax of two and one-half per cent. on all stock in trade and money at interest; of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; a capitation tax of four shillings; an imposition of one per cent. on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; a duty of sixpence per bushel on malt, and a further duty on mum, cider, and perry.

Great harmony between the king and Parliament.

The Commons seemed to vie with the Lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales; which being sent up to the other House, passed, with an additional clause of attainder against the queen, who acted as regent for the pretender. This, however, was not carried without great opposition in the House of Lords. When the bill was sent back to the Commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They observed, that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law, and that the stretching of it ought to be avoided. They proposed, that the queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The Lords assented to the proposal; and the bill against the pretended Prince of Wales passed. The Lords passed another for attainting the queen; however, it was neglected in the House of Commons. But the longest and warmest debates of this session were produced by a bill, which the Lords brought in, for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and swearing to the king by the title of rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the act of settlement. It was proposed, that this oath should be voluntary, tendered to all persons, and their subscription or refusal recorded, without any other penalty. This article was violently opposed by the Earl of Nottingham, and other lords of the tory interest. They observed, that the government was first settled with another oath, which was like an original contract; so that there was no occasion for a new imposition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always considered as severe impositions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During these disputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that should be obligatory on all persons who enjoyed employments in church or state; it likewise included an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the church of England, together with the toleration for dissenters. Warm debates arose upon the question, whether the oath should be imposed or voluntary; and at length it was carried for imposition by the majority of one voice. They agreed to insert an additional clause, declaring it equally penal to compass or imagine the death of her royal highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, as it was to compass or imagine the death of the king's eldest son and

The two Houses pass the bill of abjuration.

heir. In the House of Peers this bill was strenuously opposed by the tories; and when after long debates it passed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten lords entered a protest against it, as an unnecessary and severe imposition.

The whole nation now seemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party heats began to abate: the factions in the city of London were, in a great measure, moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the East Indies, which found their mutual interest required a coalition. The tories in the House of Commons, having concurred so heartily with the inclinations of the people, resolved, as far as it lay in their power, to justify the conduct of their party in the preceding Parliament. They complained of some petitions and addresses which had reflected upon the proceedings of the last House of Commons, and particularly of the Kentish petition. The majority, however, determined that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or address the king, for the calling, sitting, or dissolving of Parliaments, and for the redressing of grievances; and that every subject under any accusation, either by impeachment or otherwise, had a right to be brought to a speedy trial. A complaint being likewise made, that the Lords had denied the Commons justice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate ensued; and it was carried by a very small majority that justice had not been denied. In some points, however, they succeeded: in the case of a controverted election at Maidstone, between Thomas Blisse and Thomas Culpepper, the House resolved, that the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, scandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himself to be elected a burgess; but likewise, being one of the instruments in promoting and presenting the scandalous, insolent, and seditious petition, commonly called the Kentish petition, to the last House of Commons, was guilty of promoting a scandalous, villanous, and groundless reflection upon that House, by aspersing the members with receiving French money, or being in the interest of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate; and to be prosecuted by his majesty's attorney-general. They also resolved, that to assert that the House of Commons is not the only representative of the Commons of England, tends to the subversion of the

The Lower House justifies the proceedings of the Commons in the preceding Parliament.

rights and privileges of the House of Commons, and the fundamental constitution of the government of this kingdom: that to assert that the House of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the subversion of the constitution of the House of Commons: that to print or publish any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the House of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his service therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the House of Commons. Notwithstanding these transactions, they did not neglect the vigorous prosecution of the war. They addressed his majesty to interpose with his allies, that they might increase their quotas of land forces to be put on board the fleet in proportion to the numbers his majesty should embark. When they had settled the sums appropriated to the several uses of the war, they presented a second address, desiring he would provide for the half-pay officers, in the first place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The king assured them it was always his intention to provide for those officers. He went to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to an act, appointing commissioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the transport service; and also to take an account of prizes taken during the war.

The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarrassed by the conduct of the trustees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited estates. Affairs of Ireland. Their office was extremely odious to the people, as well as to the court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the insolence of the trustees on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other, endeavoured, by a circular letter, to spirit up the grand jury of Ireland against the act of resumption: petitions were presented to the king, couched in very strong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the Protestant interest, and had been obtained by gross misinformations. The king having communicated these addresses to the House, they were immediately voted scandalous, false, and groundless; and the Commons resolved, that, notwithstanding the complaints and clamours against the trustees, it did not appear to the House but those complaints were groundless: nevertheless, they afterwards received several petitions, imploring relief against the said act; and they ordered that the petitioners should be relieved accordingly. Proposals were

delivered in for incorporating such as should purchase the said forfeitures, on certain terms therein specified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchasers; but whereas in this rent-roll the value of the estates had been estimated at something more than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, those who undertook to make the purchase affirmed they were not worth five hundred thousand pounds; and thus the affair remained in suspense.

With respect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet subsided. When the bill of abjuration passed in the House of Peers, the Earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the design of it; and in order to secure a Protestant succession, he thought an union of the whole island was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved for an address to the king, that he would dissolve the Parliament of Scotland now sitting, as the legality of it might be called in question, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new Parliament should be summoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The king had this affair so much at heart, that even when he was disabled from going to the Parliament in person, he sent a letter to the Commons, expressing an eager desire that a treaty for this purpose might be set on foot, and earnestly recommending this affair to the consideration of the House; but as a new Parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great risk, while the nation was in such a ferment, the project was postponed to a more favourable opportunity.

Before the king's return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the ensuing campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who assured him, that if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The allies had also determined upon the siege of Keiserswaert, which the Elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French: the Elector of Hanover had resolved to disarm the Princes of Wolfenbuttle: the King of the Romans, and Prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau: and the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement to Prince Eugene in Italy: but Wil-

The king recommends an union of the two kingdoms.

He falls from his horse.



liam did not live to see these schemes put in execution. His constitution was by this time almost exhausted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exercise. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his serjeant-surgeon. In the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inspection of Bidloo, his physician. He seemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the first day of March, when his knee appeared to be inflamed, with great pain and weakness. Next day he granted a commission under the great seal to several peers for passing the bills to which both Houses of Parliament had agreed; namely, the act of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales, and another in favour of the quakers, enacting that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted instead of an oath in the usual form.

On the fourth day of March the king was so well recovered of his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but sitting down on a couch, <sup>His death.</sup> where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent physicians; but their prescriptions proved ineffectual. On the sixth he granted another commission for passing the bill for the malt-tax, and the bill of abjuration; and being so weak that he could not write his name, he, in presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The Earl of Albemarle, arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; but he received his informations with great coldness, and said, "*Je tire vers ma fin*—I approach the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from Archbishop Tennyson, and

Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury: on Sunday morning the sacrament was administered to him. The lords of the privy council and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to some of them who were admitted he spoke a little. He thanked Lord Auverquerque for his long and faithful services: he delivered to Lord Albemarle the keys of his closet and scrutoire, telling him he knew what to do with them. He inquired for the Earl of Portland; but, being speechless before that nobleman arrived, he grasped his hand and laid it to his heart, with marks of the most tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived that the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black riband, to which was affixed a ring, containing some hair of the late Queen Mary. The body, being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington, and on the twelfth day of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Westminster Abbey. In the beginning of May, a will which he had entrusted with Monsieur Schuylenberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin Prince Frison of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-General his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the lordship of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thousand guilders, to the Earl of Albemarle.

William III. was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, a delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry, and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly superintended. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of the age in which he lived had he never ascended the throne of Great Britain. But the distinguishing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he sacrificed the puncti-

lios of honour and decorum, in deposing his own father-in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expense of the nation that raised him to sovereign authority. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and the second object of his attention was, the prosperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the interests of the continent and Great Britain were inseparable, or sought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient ally, certain it is he involved these kingdoms in foreign connexions, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favourite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words—William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign.

Burnet.  
Oldmixon.  
Boyer.  
Lamberty.  
State  
Tracts.  
Tindal.  
Ralph.  
Voltaire.

## CHAPTER VII.

## ANNE.

ANNE SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE. — SHE RESOLVES TO FULFIL THE ENGAGEMENTS OF HER PREDECESSOR WITH HIS ALLIES. — A FRENCH MEMORIAL PRESENTED TO THE STATES-GENERAL. — THE QUEEN'S INCLINATION TO THE TORIES. — WAR DECLARED AGAINST FRANCE. — THE PARLIAMENT PROVOGUE. — WARM OPPOSITION TO THE MINISTRY IN THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. — THEY RECOGNIZE HER MAJESTY'S AUTHORITY. — THE QUEEN APPOINTS COMMISSIONERS TO TREAT OF AN UNION BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. — STATE OF AFFAIRS ON THE CONTINENT. — KESSELSWAERT AND LANDAU TAKEN BY THE ALLIES. — PROGRESS OF THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH IN FLANDERS. — HE NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING TAKEN BY A FRENCH PARTISAN. — THE IMPERIALISTS ARE WORSTED AT FRIEDLINGEN. — BATTLE OF LUZZARA, IN ITALY. — THE KING OF SWEDEN DEFEATS AUGUSTUS AT LISBOU IN POLAND. — FRUITLESS EXPEDITION TO CADIZ BY THE DUKE OF ORMOND AND SIR GEORGE ROOKE. — THEY TAKE AND DESTROY THE SPANISH GALLEONS AT VIGO. — ADMIRAL BENBOW'S ENGAGEMENT WITH DU CASSE IN THE WEST INDIES. — THE QUEEN ASSEMBLES A NEW PARLIAMENT. — DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES. — THE LORDS INQUIRE INTO THE CONDUCT OF SIR GEORGE ROOKE. — THE PARLIAMENT MAKE A SETTLEMENT ON PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK. — THE EARL OF MARLBOROUGH CREATES A DUKE. — ALL COMMERCE AND CORRESPONDENCE PROHIBITED BETWEEN HOLLAND AND THE TWO CROWNS OF FRANCE AND SPAIN. — A BILL FOR PREVENTING OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY. — IT MISCARRIES. — VIOLENT ANIMOSITY BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES, PRODUCED BY THE INQUIRY INTO THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS. — DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES OF CONVOCATION. — ACCOUNT OF THE PARTIES IN SCOTLAND. — DANGEROUS HEATS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF THAT KINGDOM. — THE COMMISSIONER IS ABANDONED BY THE CAVALIERS. — HE IS IN DANGER OF HIS LIFE, AND SUDDENLY PROVOQUES THE PARLIAMENT. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. — THEY PASS A SEVERE ACT AGAINST PAPISTS. — THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA DEFEATS THE IMPERIALISTS AT SCARDINGEN, AND TAKES POSSESSION OF RATISBON. — THE ALLIES REDUCE BONNE. — BATTLE OF ECKEREN. — THE PRINCE OF HESSE IS DEFEATED BY THE FRENCH AT SPIERBACH. — TREATY BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE DUKE OF SAVOY. — THE KING OF PORTUGAL ACCEDES TO THE GRAND ALLIANCE. — SIR CLODSELEY SHOVEL SAILS WITH A FLEET TO THE MEDITERRANEAN. — ADMIRAL GRAYDON'S BOOTLESS EXPEDITION TO THE WEST INDIES. — CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN, ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.

WILLIAM WAS succeeded as sovereign of England by Anne, 1701. Princess of Denmark, who ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. Even the Jacobites seemed pleased with her elevation, on the supposition that, as in all probability she would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the succession in favour of her own brother. She had been taught to cherish warm sentiments of the Tories, whom she considered as the friends of monarchy, and the true sons of

Anne succeeds to the throne.

the church; and they had always professed an inviolable attachment to her person and interest; but her conduct was wholly influenced by the Countess of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the princess from her tender years, and gained a surprising ascendancy over her. Anne had undergone some strange vicissitudes of fortune in consequence of her father's expulsion, and sustained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during which she conducted herself with such discretion, as left little or no pretence for censure or resentment. Such conduct, indeed, was in a great measure owing to a natural temperance of disposition, not easily ruffled or inflamed. She was zealously devoted to the church of England, from which her father had used some endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and she lived in great harmony with her husband, to whom she bore six children, all of whom she had already survived. William had no sooner yielded up his breath, than the privy council in a body waited on the new queen, who, in a short but sensible speech, assured them, that no pains nor diligence should be wanting on her part, to preserve and support the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the succession in the Protestant line, and the government in the church and state, as by law established. She declared her resolution to carry on the preparations for opposing the exorbitant power of France, and to assure the allies that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with theirs, for the support of the common cause. The members of the privy council having taken the oaths, she ordered a proclamation to be published, signifying her pleasure, that all persons in office of authority or government at the decease of the late king, should so continue till further direction. By virtue of an act passed in the late reign, the Parliament continued sitting even after the king's death. Both Houses met immediately, and unanimously voted an address of condolence and congratulation; and, in the afternoon, the queen was proclaimed. Next day the Lords and Commons severally attended her with an address, congratulating her majesty's accession to the throne; and assuring her of their firm resolution to support her against all her enemies whatsoever. The Lords acknowledged, that their great loss was no otherwise to be repaired, but by a vigorous adherence to her majesty and

her allies, in the prosecution of those measures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France. The Commons declared they would maintain the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and effectually provide for the public credit of the nation. These addresses were graciously received by the queen, who, on the eleventh day of March, went to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity, where, in a speech to both Houses, she expressed her satisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their allies in humbling the power of France; and desired they would consider of proper methods towards obtaining a union between England and Scotland. She observed to the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expenses of the civil government was expired; and that she relied entirely on their affection for its being supplied in such a manner as should be most suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. She declared it should be her constant endeavour to make them the best return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all her subjects. "And as I know my own heart to be entirely English (continued she), I can very sincerely assure you, there is not any thing you can expect or desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word." These assurances were extremely agreeable to the Parliament; and she received the thanks of both Houses. Addresses of congratulation were presented by the bishop and clergy of London; by the dissenters in and about that city; and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. She declared her attachment to the church; she promised her protection to the dissenters; and received the compliments of all her subjects with such affability, as ensured their affection.

William's death was no sooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with consternation. The states immediately assembled, and, for some time, gazed at each other in silent fear and astonishment. They sighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their dearest blood in defence of their country. Then they despatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and ex-

She resolves to fulfil the engagements of her predecessor with his allies.

horting them to union and perseverance. The express from England having brought the queen's speech to her privy council, it was translated and published, to revive the drooping spirits of the people. Next day Pensionary Fagel imparted to the states of Holland a letter which he had received from the Earl of Marlborough, containing assurances, in the queen's name, of union and assistance. In a few days, the queen wrote a letter in the French language to the states, confirming these assurances: it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom she had furnished with fresh credentials as envoy from England. Thus animated, the states resolved to prosecute vigorous measures: their resolutions were still more inspirited by the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough, whom the queen honoured with the order of the garter, and invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-General: he was likewise declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad. He assured the states, that her Britannic majesty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The speech was answered by Dickvelt, president of the week, who, in the name of the states, expressed their hearty thanks to her majesty, and their resolutions of concurring with her in a vigorous prosecution of the common interest.

The importance of William's life was evinced by the joy that diffused itself through the kingdom of France at the news of his decease. The person who first brought the tidings to Calais was imprisoned by the governor, until his information was confirmed. The court of Versailles could hardly restrain their transports so as to preserve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event: all decency was laid aside at Rome, where this incident produced such indecent raptures, that Cardinal Grimani, the imperial minister, complained of them to the pope, as an insult on his master the emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally. The French king despatched credentials to Barre, whom the Count d'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with instructions to renew the negotiation with the states, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This minister presented a memorial implying severe reflections on King William, and the past conduct

A French memorial presented to the States-General.

of the Dutch; and insinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would consult their true interest. The Count de Goes, envoy from the emperor, animadverted on these expressions in another memorial, which was likewise published: the states produced in public an answer to the same remonstrance, expressing their resentment at the insolence of such insinuations, and their veneration for the memory of their late stadtholder. The Earl of Marlborough succeeded in every part of his negotiation. He animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour: he concerted the operations of the campaign: he agreed with the States-General and the imperial minister, that war should be declared against France on the same day at Vienna, London, and the Hague: and on the third of April embarked for England, after having acquired the entire confidence of those who governed the United Provinces.

By this time the House of Commons in England had settled the civil list upon the queen for her life. 1702. When the bill received the royal assent, she assured them that one hundred thousand pounds of this revenue should be applied to the public service of the current year: at the same time, she passed another bill for receiving and examining the public accounts. A commission for this purpose was granted in the preceding reign, but had been for some years discontinued; and, indeed, always proved ineffectual to detect and punish those individuals who shamefully pillaged their country. The villany was so complicated, the vice so general, and the delinquents so powerfully screened by artifice and interest, as to elude all inquiry. On the twenty-fourth day of March the oath of abjuration was taken by the speaker and members, according to an act for the further security of her majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. The queen's inclination to the tories plainly appeared in her choice of ministers. Doctor John Sharp, Archbishop of York, became her ghostly director and counsellor in all ecclesiastical affairs. The Earl of Rochester was continued Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great share of her majesty's confidence: the privy-seal was entrusted to the Marquis of Normanby: the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges

1702.  
The queen's  
inclination  
to the  
tories.



were appointed secretaries of state : the Earl of Abingdon, Viscount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Grenville, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the privy council, together with Sir Edward Seymour, now declared comptroller of the household. The Lord Godolphin declined accepting the office of lord high treasurer, until he was overruled by the persuasions of Marlborough, to whose eldest daughter his son was married. This nobleman refused to command the forces abroad, unless the treasury should be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whose punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George, Prince of Denmark, was invested with the title of generalissimo of all the queen's forces by sea and land; and afterwards created lord high admiral, the Earl of Pembroke having been dismissed from this office with the offer of a large pension, which he generously refused. Prince George, as admiral, was assisted by a council, consisting of Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the Parliament had such respect and veneration for the queen, that it was suffered to act without question.

A rivalry for the queen's favour already appeared between the Earls of Rochester and Marlborough. War declared against France. The former, as first cousin to the queen, and chief of the tory faction, maintained considerable influence in the council; but even there the interest of his rival predominated. Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but, by the canal of his countess, actually directed the queen in all her resolutions. Rochester proposed in council, that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was seconded by some other members; but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He observed, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless the English would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was supported by the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The queen, being resolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the House of Commons, by whom it was approved; and on the fourth day of May the declaration was solemnly proclaimed. The

King of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken possession of great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe, and obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the emperor, England, and the States-General, which were published in one day, did not fail to disconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his minister De Torcy recited them in his hearing, he spoke of the queen with some acrimony; but with respect to the States-General, he declared with great emotion, that "Messieurs the Dutch merchants should one day repent of their insolence and presumption, in declaring war against so powerful a monarch:" he did not, however, produce his declaration till the third day of July.

The House of Commons, in compliance with the queen's desire, brought in a bill, empowering her majesty to name commissioners to treat with the Scots for a union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm opposition from Sir Edward Seymour, and other tory members, who discharged abundance of satire and ridicule upon the Scottish nation; but the measure seemed so necessary at that juncture to secure the protestant succession against the practices of France and the claims of the pretender, that the majority espoused the bill, which passed through both Houses, and on the sixth day of May received the royal assent, together with some bills of less importance. The enemies of the late king continued to revile his memory.\* They even charged him with having formed a design of excluding the Princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the Elector of Hanover as his own immediate successor. This report had been so industriously circulated, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the Upper House, that the truth of this report should be inquired into. The House immediately desired that those lords who had visited the late king's

\* In their hours of debauch they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the king; and under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled. As the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment upon him, for his cruelty to that gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion.

papers would intimate whether or not they had found any among them relating to the queen's succession, or to the succession of the House of Hanover. They forthwith declared that nothing of that sort appeared. Then the House resolved, that the report was groundless, false, villanous, and scandalous, to the dishonour of the late king's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her present majesty, whom they besought to give order that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the attorney-general. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of irreligion.<sup>b</sup> On the twenty-first day of May, the Commons, in an address, advised her majesty to engage the emperor, the States-General, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert such methods with the States-General as might most effectually secure the trade of her subjects and allies. The Lords presented another address, desiring the queen would encourage her subjects to equip privateers, as the preparations of the enemy seemed to be made for a piratical war, to the interruption of commerce: they likewise exhorted her majesty to grant commissions or charters to all persons who should make such acquisitions in the Indies, as she in her great wisdom should judge most expedient for the good of her kingdoms. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the queen, having passed several public and private bills,<sup>c</sup> dismissed the Parliament by prorogation, after having, in a short speech, thanked them for their zeal, recommended unanimity, and declared she would carefully preserve and maintain the act of toleration.

In Scotland a warm contest arose between the revolutioners and those in the opposition, concerning the existence of the present Parliament. The queen had signified her accession to the throne in a letter to her privy council for Scotland, desiring they

Warm opposition to the ministry in the Scottish Parliament.

<sup>b</sup> Doctor Binckes, in a sermon preached before the convocation, on the thirtieth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ and those of King Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and station.

<sup>c</sup> During this short session, the queen gave her assent to an act for laying a duty upon land; to another for encouraging the Greenland trade; to a third for making good the deficiencies and the public credit; to a fourth for continuing the imprisonment of Countess, and other conspirators against King William; to a fifth for the relief of Protestant purchasers of the forfeited estates of Ireland; to a sixth, enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration; to a seventh, obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their Protestant children.

would continue to act in that office until she should send a new commission. Meanwhile she authorized them to publish a proclamation, ordering all officers of state, counsellors, and magistrates, to act in all things conformably to the commissions and instructions of his late majesty, until new commissions should be prepared. She likewise assured them of her firm resolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the established government of the church. She had already, in presence of twelve Scottish counsellors, taken the coronation-oath for that kingdom; but those who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country affirmed that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by persons deputed for that purpose, either by the Parliament or the privy council of the kingdom. The present ministry, consisting of the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, were devoted to revolution principles, and desirous that the Parliament should continue, in pursuance of a late act for continuing the Parliament that should be then in being, six months after the death of the king; and that it should assemble in twenty days after that event. The queen had, by several adjournments, deferred the meeting almost three months after the king's decease; and therefore the anti-revolutioners affirmed that it was dissolved. The Duke of Hamilton was at the head of this party, which clamoured loudly for a new Parliament. This nobleman, together with the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Earls Marshal and Rothes, and many other noblemen, repaired to London, in order to make the queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the present Parliament. She admitted them to her presence, and calmly heard their allegations; but she was determined, by the advice of her privy council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to hazard the convocation of a new Parliament. According to the queen's last adjournment, the Parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the Duke of Queensberry having been appointed high commissioner. Before the queen's commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton, for himself and his adherents, declared their satisfaction at her majesty's accession to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by descent, but likewise because of her many personal virtues and royal qualities. He said they

were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her majesty's right against all her enemies whatever; but, at the same time, they thought themselves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to sit and act as a Parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: that forasmuch as, by the fundamental laws and constitution of this kingdom, all Parliaments do dissolve on the death of their sovereign, except in so far as innovated by an act in the preceding reign, that the Parliament in being at his majesty's decease should meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true Protestant religion as by law established, and for the maintenance of the succession to the crown as settled by the claim of right, and for the preservation and security of the public peace; and seeing these ends are fully answered by her majesty's succession to the throne, we conceive ourselves not now warranted by law to meet, sit, or act; and therefore do dissent from any thing that shall be done or acted. The duke, having recited this paper, and formally protested against the proceedings of the Parliament, withdrew with seventy-nine members amidst the acclamations of the people.

Notwithstanding their secession, the commissioner, who retained a much greater number, produced the queen's letter, signifying her resolution to maintain and protect her subjects in the full possession of their religion, laws, liberties, and the presbyterian discipline. She informed them of her having declared war against France; she exhorted them to provide competent supplies for maintaining such a number of forces as might be necessary for disappointing the enemy's designs, and preserving the present happy settlement; and she earnestly recommended to their consideration a union of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for the security of the kingdom, for controverted elections, for drawing up an answer to her majesty's letter, and for revising the minutes. Meanwhile, the Duke of Hamilton and his adherents sent the Lord Blantyre to London, with an address to the queen, who refused to receive it, but wrote another letter to the Parliament, expressing her resolution to maintain their dignity and authority against all opposers. They, in answer to the former, had assured her, that the groundless secession of

They recognize her majesty's authority.

some members should increase and strengthen their care and zeal for her majesty's service. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for having given vent to some reflections against presbytery. The lord advocate prosecuted the faculty of advocates before the Parliament, for having passed a vote among themselves in favour of the protestation and address of the dissenting members. The faculty was severely reprimanded; but the whole nation seemed to resent the prosecution. The Parliament passed an act for recognizing her majesty's royal authority; another for adjourning the court of judicature called the session; a third declaring this meeting of Parliament legal, and forbidding any person to disown, quarrel with, or impugn the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treason; a fourth for securing the true Protestant religion and presbyterian church government; a fifth for a land-tax; and a sixth enabling her majesty to appoint commissioners for a union between the two kingdoms.

The Earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the high commissioner, brought in a bill for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales; but this was not supported by the court party, as the commissioner had no instructions how to act on the occasion. Perhaps the queen and her English ministry resolved to keep the succession open in Scotland, as a check upon the whigs and house of Hanover. On the thirtieth day of June, the commissioner adjourned the Parliament, after having thanked them for their cheerfulness and unanimity in their proceedings; and the chiefs of the opposite parties hastened to London, to make their different representations to the queen and her ministry. In the mean time she appointed commissioners for treating about the union; and they met at the Cockpit on the twenty-second day of October. On the twentieth day of the next month they adjusted preliminaries, importing, that nothing agreed on among themselves should be binding, except ratified by her majesty and the respective parliaments of both nations; and that, unless all the heads proposed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on should be binding. The queen visited them in December, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours. They agreed, that the two kingdoms should be inseparably united into one monarchy, under her majesty, her heirs, and

The queen appoints commissioners to treat of a union between England and Scotland.

successors, and under the same limitations, according to the acts of settlement; but when the Scottish commissioners proposed; that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies should be preserved and maintained, such a difficulty arose as could not be surmounted, and no further progress was made in this commission. The tranquillity of Ireland was not interrupted by any new commotion. That kingdom was ruled by justices whom the Earl of Rochester had appointed; and the trustees for the forfeited estates maintained their authority.

While Britain was engaged in these civil transactions, her allies were not idle on the continent. The old Duke of Zell, and his nephew, the Elector of Brunswick, surprised the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Thus the north of Germany was re-united to the interests of the confederates; and the princes would have been in a condition to assist them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conquest. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Prussia. Augustus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warsaw, and even ordered the cardinal-primate to summon a diet for choosing a new king. The situation of affairs at this juncture was far from being favourable to the allies. The court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the Elector of Bavaria, who made use of this negotiation to raise his terms with Louis. His brother, the Elector of Cologne, admitted French garrisons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony was too hard pressed by the King of Sweden to spare his full proportion of troops to the allies: the King of Prussia was overawed by the vicinity of the Swedish conqueror: the Duke of Savoy had joined his forces to those of France, and overrun the whole state of Milan; and the pope, though he professed a neutrality, evinced himself strongly biassed to the French interests.

The war was begun in the name of the elector-palatine, with the siege of Keiserswaert, which was invested in the month of April by the Prince of Nassau-Saarburgh, mare-

schal-du-camp to the emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops served as auxiliaries, because war had not yet been declared by the States-General. The French garrisons made a desperate defence. They worsted the besiegers in divers sallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of ashes. At length the allies made a general attack upon the counterscarp and ravelin, which they carried after a very obstinate engagement, with the loss of two thousand men. Then the garrison capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifications were razed. During this siege, which lasted from the eighteenth day of April to the middle of June, Count Tallard posted himself on the opposite side of the Rhine, from whence he supplied the town with fresh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the besiegers with his artillery; but finding it impossible to save the place, he joined the grand army, commanded by the Duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. The siege of Keiserswaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the Earl of Athlone, who lay encamped in the Duchy of Cleve. Meanwhile General Coehorn, at the head of another detachment, entered Flanders, demolished the French lines between the forts of Donat and Isabello, and laid the chatellanie of Bruges under contribution: but a considerable body of French troops advancing under the Marquis de Bedmar and the Count de la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. The Duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve, and laid a scheme for surprising Nimeguen; in which, however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who, guessing his design, marched thither, and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was invested by Prince Louis of Baden; in July, the King of the Romans arrived in the camp of the besiegers, with such pomp and magnificence as exhausted his father's treasury. On the ninth day of September, the citadel was taken by assault; and then the town surrendered.

When the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of Veldt-mareschal, insisted upon an equal command with the English general; but the states obliged him to yield this point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared

Progress of  
the Earl of  
Marlbo-  
rough in  
Flanders.



generalissimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he soon assembled an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries: then he convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. On the sixteenth day of the month he passed the Maese and encamped at Over-asselt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had entrenched themselves between Goch and Gedap. He afterwards repassed the river below the Grave, and removed to Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the British train of artillery from Holland. On the second day of August he advanced to Petit Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spanish Guelderland to his discretion. He had resolved to hazard an engagement, and issued orders accordingly; but he was restrained by the Dutch deputies, who were afraid of their own interest, in case the battle should have proved unfortunate. The Duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Boufflers, who lost the confidence of Louis by the ill success of this campaign. The deputies of the States-General having represented to the Earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his dispossessing the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spanish Guelderland, by which the navigation of the Maese was obstructed, and the important town of Maestricht in a manner blocked up, he resolved to deliver them from such a troublesome neighbourhood. He detached General Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and castle of Werk, which were surrendered after a slight resistance. In the beginning of September he undertook the siege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after fort St. Michael had been stormed and taken by Lord Cutts and the English volunteers, among whom the young Earl of Huntingdon distinguished himself by very extraordinary acts of valour. Then the general invested Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obstinate defence, together with the fort of Stevensuaert, situated on the same river. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's success, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city; but at the approach of the confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongeren, from whence he directed his route

towards Brabant, with a view to defend such places as the allies had no design to attack. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the suburbs of St. Walburgh had been set on fire by the French garrison, who had retired to the citadel and the Chartreux. The allies took immediate possession of the city; and in a few days opened the trenches against the citadel, which was taken by assault. On this occasion, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel charged at the head of the grenadiers, and was the first person who mounted the breach. Violani the governor, and the Duke of Charost, were made prisoners. Three hundred thousand florins in gold and silver were found in the citadel, besides notes for above one million, drawn upon substantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garrison of the Chartreux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the success of this campaign, the Earl of Marlborough raised his military character above all censure, and confirmed himself in the entire confidence of the States-General, who in the beginning of the season had trembled for Nimeguen, and now saw the enemy driven back into their own domains.

When the army broke up in November, the general repaired to Maestricht, from whence he proposed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly he embarked in a large boat, with five-and-twenty soldiers under the command of a lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a large vessel with sixty men; and they were moreover escorted by fifty troopers, who rode along the bank of the river. The large boat outsailed the other, and the horsemen mistook their way in the dark. A French partisan, with five-and-thirty men from Gueldres, who lurked among the rushes in wait for prey, seized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it ashore, discharged their small arms and hand grenades, then rushing into it, secured the soldiers before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. The Earl of Marlborough was accompanied by General Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldermalsen, one of the deputies, who were provided with passports. The earl had neglected this precaution; but recollecting he had an old passport for his brother, General Churchill, he produced it without any emotion; and the partisan was in such confusion that he

He narrowly escapes being taken by a French partisan.

never examined the date. Nevertheless, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as prisoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The governor of Venlo receiving information that the earl was surprised by a party, and conveyed to Gueldres, immediately marched out with his whole garrison to invest that place. The same imperfect account being transmitted to Holland, filled the whole province with consternation. The states, forthwith assembling, resolved that all their forces should march immediately to Gueldres, and threaten the garrison of the place with the utmost extremities, unless they would immediately deliver the general. But before these orders could be despatched, the earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpressible joy of the people, who already looked upon him as their saviour and protector.

The French arms were not quite so unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria surprised the city of Ulm in Suabia by a stratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, were so incensed at his conduct in seizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they presented a memorial to his imperial majesty, requesting he would proceed against the elector, according to the constitutions of the empire. They resolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war in the name of the empire against the French king and the Duke of Anjou, for having invaded several fiefs of the empire in Italy, the Archbishopric of Cologne, and the diocese of Liege; and they forbade the ministers of Bavaria and Cologne to appear in the general diet. In vain did these powers protest against their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was published and notified, in the name of the diet, to the Cardinal of Limberg, the emperor's commissioner. Meanwhile the French made themselves masters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, while Louis, Prince of Baden, being weakened by sending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and the Count de Guiscard; and the prince, thinking himself in danger of being enclosed by the enemy, resolved to decamp. Villars immediately passed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, the imperialists were overpowered by numbers. The prince, having lost

The imperialists are worsted at Fridlinguen.

two thousand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being pursued. The French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably seized with such a panic, that if the imperial general had faced them with two regiments, he would have snatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occasion saluted Mareschal of France by the soldiers; and next day the town of Fridlinguen surrendered. The prince, being joined by some troops under General Thungen, and other reinforcements, resolved to give battle to the enemy; but Villars declined an engagement, and repassed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, Count Tallard, and the Marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thousand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach: on the other hand, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Brisac, and Andernach.

In Italy, Prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of supporting the King of the Romans in his first campaign, weaned the emperor's attention entirely from his affairs on the other side of the Alps, so that he left his best army to moulder away for want of recruits and reinforcements. The prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the Duke de Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquish some other places he had taken. Philip, King of Spain, being inspired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, sailed in person for Naples, where he was visited by the cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the pope; yet he could not obtain the investiture of the kingdom from his holiness. The emperor, however, was so disgusted at the embassy which the pope had sent to Philip, that he ordered his ambassador at Rome to withdraw. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet, which had brought him to Italy: here he had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the prospect of the French king's being master of the Milanese; and in a letter to the Duke de Vendome, he forbade him to engage Prince Eugene until he himself should arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene, understanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guastalla, passed the Po, with an army

Battle of  
Luzzara, in  
Italy.

of about half the number of the enemy, and posted himself behind the dyke of Zero, in such a manner that the French were ignorant of his situation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had chosen, the horse would march out to forage, while the rest of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreshment. His design was to seize that opportunity of attacking them, not doubting that he should obtain a complete victory; but he was disappointed by mere accident. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curiosity to ascend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he discovered the imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horse in the rear, ranged in order of battle. The French camp was immediately alarmed; and as the intermediate ground was covered with hedges, which obliged the assailants to defile, the enemy were in a posture of defence before the imperialists could advance to action; nevertheless, the prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hopes of disordering their line, which gave way in several places; but night interposing, he was obliged to desist; and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guastalla. The prince, however, maintained his post, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any considerable advantage.

The French king employed all his artifices and intrigues in raising up new enemies against the confederates. He is said to have bribed Count Mansfield, president of the council of war at Vienna, to withhold the supplies from Prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the visir, who engaged to renew the war with the emperor. But the mufti and all the other great officers were averse to this design, and the visir fell a sacrifice to their resentment. Louis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the cardinal-primate. The young King of Sweden advanced to Lissau, where he defeated Augustus. Then he took possession of Cracow, and raised contributions; nor could he be persuaded to retreat, although the Muscovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden.

The King  
of Sweden  
defeats Au-  
gustus at  
Lissau in  
Poland.

The operations of the combined squadrons at sea did not fully answer the expectations of the public. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden sailed with twelve ships to intercept a French squadron appointed as a convoy to a

new Viceroy of Mexico, from Corunna to the West Indies.

Frutless  
expedition  
to Cadiz by  
the Duke of  
Ormond  
and Sir  
George  
Rooke.

On the twenty-eighth day of the month he chased fourteen sail of French ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and that seventeen of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being distressed by want of provisions, came into port, to the general discontent of the nation. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, Prince George dismissed him from the service. We have already hinted, that King William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterwards against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. This design Queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the Duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land forces destined for this expedition. The combined squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fire-ships, and smaller vessels; and the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of fourteen thousand. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's: on the twelfth of August they anchored at the distance of two leagues from Cadiz. Next day the Duke of Ormond summoned the Duke de Brancaccio, who was governor, to submit to the house of Austria; but that officer answered, he would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the king. On the fifteenth the Duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a smart fire from some frigates, and repulsed a body of Spanish cavalry; then he summoned the governor of Fort St. Catherine's to surrender: and received an answer, importing, that the garrison was prepared for his reception. A declaration was published in the Spanish language, intimating, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and assist them in establishing themselves under the government of the house of Austria. These professions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the excesses

of the English troops. These having taken possession of Fort St. Catherine's and Port St. Mary's, instead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithstanding the strict orders issued by the Duke of Ormond to prevent this scandalous practice: even some general officers were concerned in the pillage. A battery was raised against Montagorda fort opposite to the Puntal; but the attempt miscarried, and the troops were re-embarked.

Captain Hardy, having been sent to water in Lagos bay, received intelligence that the galleons from the West Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now on his voyage back to England, and falling in with him on the sixth day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their course, and attack the enemy at Vigo. He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation that the galleons, and the squadron commanded by Chateau Renault, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breastworks on each side; by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, topmasts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy-gun ship; and fortified within by five ships of the same strength lying athwart the channel, with their broadsides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships; and a division of five-and-twenty English and Dutch ships of the line, with their frigates, fire-ships, and ketches, was destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-Admiral Hopson, in the *Torbay*, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last, however, were soon stormed and taken by the

They take  
and destroy  
the Spanish  
galleons at  
Vigo.

grenadiers, who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though Vice-Admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fire-ship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French, finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandize before the English fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors; so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and dismantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Thither Admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence that Monsieur Du Casse was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogané he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he understood that Du Casse had sailed for the coast of Carthagena. Benbow resolved to follow the same course, and on the nineteenth of August discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He formed the line, and an engagement ensued, in which he was very ill seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by Captain George Walton,

Admiral  
Benbow's  
engage-  
ment with  
Du Casse  
in the West  
Indies.



who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the twenty-first these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the twenty-third the admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of his squadron. On the twenty-fourth his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broadsides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French, bearing down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his main-top-sail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg; but also received a large wound on his face, and another on his arm, while he in person attempted to board the French admiral. Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to Rear-Admiral Whetstone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the Pendennis, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable, of the Windsor, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain of the Breda, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy, while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manners of Benbow had produced this base confederacy. He was a rough seaman;

but remarkably brave, honest, and experienced.<sup>4</sup> He took this miscarriage so much to heart that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same precaution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour.

During these transactions, the queen seemed to be happy in the affection of her subjects. Though the continuance of the Parliament was limited to six months after the king's decease, she dissolved it by proclamation before the term was expired; and issued writs for electing another, in which the tory interest predominated. In the summer the queen gave audience to the Count de Platens, envoy-extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover; then she made a progress with her husband to Oxford, Bath, and Bristol, where she was received with all the marks of the most genuine affection. The new Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was chosen speaker. The queen in her speech declared, she had summoned them to assist her in carrying on the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. She desired the Commons would inspect the accounts of the public receipts and payments, that if any abuses had crept into the management of the finances, they might be detected, and the offenders punished. She told them that the funds assigned in the last Parliament had not produced the sums granted; and that the deficiency was not supplied even by the hundred thousand pounds which she had paid from her own revenue for the public service. She expressed her concern for the disappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuses committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for the strictest examination of the parti-

<sup>4</sup> When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," replied the gallant Benbow, "but I had rather have lost them both than have seen this dishonour brought upon the English nation. But, do you hear! If another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Casse arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"SIR,

"I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for, by God, they deserve it.

"Yours,

DU CASSE."

culars. She hoped they would find time to consider of some better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which she was determined to encourage. She professed a firm persuasion, that the affection of her subjects was the surest pledge of their duty and obedience. She promised to defend and maintain the church as by law established; and to protect her subjects in the full enjoyment of all their rights and liberties. She protested that she relied on their care of her; she said her interest and theirs were inseparable; and that her endeavours should never be wanting to make them all safe and happy. She was presented with a very affectionate address from either House, congratulating her upon the glorious success of her arms, and those of her allies, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough; but that of the Commons was distinguished by an implicated reproach on the late reign, importing that the wonderful progress of her majesty's arms under the Earl of Marlborough had signally "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the English nation. This expression had excited a warm debate in the House, in the course of which many severe reflections were made on the memory of King William. At length the question was put, whether the word "retrieved" should remain; and carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one hundred.

The strength of the tories appeared in nothing more conspicuous than in their inquiry concerning contro-  
verted elections. The borough of Hindon, near Salisbury, was convicted of bribery, and a bill  
brought in for disfranchising the town: yet no vote passed against the person who exercised this corruption, because he happened to be a tory. Mr. Howe was declared duly elected for Gloucestershire, though the majority of the electors had voted for the other candidate. Sir John Packington exhibited a complaint against the Bishop of Worcester and his son, for having endeavoured to prevent his election; the Commons, having taken it into consideration, resolved that the proceedings of William Lord Bishop of Worcester, and his son, had been malicious, unchristian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England. They voted an address to the queen, desiring her to remove the father from the office of lord-almoner; and they ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the son, after

Disputes  
between  
the two  
Houses.

his privilege as member of the convocation should be expired. A counter address was immediately voted, and presented by the Lords, beseeching her majesty would not remove the Bishop of Worcester from the place of lord-almoner, until he should be found guilty of some crime by due course of law ; as it was the undoubted right of every lord of Parliament, and of every subject of England, to have an opportunity to make his defence before he suffered any sort of punishment. The queen said she had not as yet received any complaint against the Bishop of Worcester ; but she looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or displace any servant attending upon her own person when she should think proper. The Peers, having received this answer, unanimously resolved, that no lord of their House ought to suffer any sort of punishment by any proceedings of the House of Commons, otherwise than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of Parliament. When the Commons attended the queen with their address against the bishop, she said she was sorry there was any occasion for such a remonstrance ; and that the Bishop of Worcester should no longer continue to supply the place of her almoner. This regard to their address was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the tories, who seemed to justify her attachment by their compliance and liberality.

In deliberating on the supplies, they agreed to all the demands of the ministry. They voted forty thousand  
The Lords  
 Inquire into  
 the conduct  
 of Sir  
 George  
 Rooke.
 seamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with those of the allies. For the maintenance of these last, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thousand eight hundred and twenty-six pounds, besides three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for guards and garrisons ; seventy thousand nine hundred and seventy-three pounds for ordnance ; and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for subsidies to the allies. Lord Shannon arriving with the news of the success at Vigo, the queen appointed a day of thanksgiving for the signal success of her arms under the Earl of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke ; and on that day, which was the twelfth of November, she went in state to St. Paul's church, attended by both Houses of Parliament. Next day the Peers voted the thanks of their House to the Duke of Ormond for his services at Vigo ; and, at the same time, drew up an address to the queen, desiring

she would order the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings; a request with which her majesty complied. Those two officers were likewise thanked by the House of Commons: Vice-Admiral Hopson was knighted, and gratified with a considerable pension. The Duke of Ormond, at his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and seemed determined to subject him to a public accusation; but that officer was such a favourite among the Commons, that the court was afraid to disoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the duke's resentment. This nobleman was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Rooke was admitted into the privy-council. A motion, however, being made in the House of Lords, that the admiral's instructions and journals relating to the last expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpose, and prepared an unfavourable report; but it was rejected by a majority of the House; and they voted, that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation.

On the twenty-first day of November, the queen sent a message to the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hedges, recommending further provision for the prince her husband, in case he should survive her. This message being considered, Mr. Howe moved, that the yearly sum of one hundred thousand pounds should be settled on the prince, in case he should survive her majesty. No opposition was made to the proposal; but warm debates were excited by a clause in the bill, exempting the prince from that part of the act of succession by which strangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments. This clause related only to those who should be naturalized in a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a restriction upon the house of Hanover. Many members argued against the clause of exemption, because it seemed to imply that persons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already possessed of the right of natural-born subjects; a consequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others opposed it because the lords had already resolved by a vote, that they would never pass any bill sent up from the Commons, to which a clause foreign to the bill should be tacked; and this clause they affirmed to be a tack, as an

The Parliament make a settlement on Prince George of Denmark.

incapacity to hold employments was a circumstance altogether distinct from a settlement in money. The queen expressed uncommon eagerness in behalf of this bill; and the court influence was managed so successfully, that it passed through both Houses, though not without an obstinate opposition, and a formal protest by seven-and-twenty peers.

The Earl of Marlborough, arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the Commons for his great and signal services, which were so acceptable to the queen, that she created him a duke; gratified him with a pension of five thousand pounds upon the revenue of the post-office, during his natural life; and, in a message to the Commons, expressed a desire that they would find some method to settle it on the heirs male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Christopher Musgrave observed, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent services; but he affirmed his grace had been very well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his duchess enjoyed. The duke, understanding that the Commons were heated by the subject, begged her majesty would rather forego her gracious message in his behalf, than create any uneasiness on his account, which might embarrass her affairs, and be of ill consequence to the public. Then she sent another message to the House, signifying, that the Duke of Marlborough had declined her interposition. Notwithstanding this declaration, the Commons in a body presented an address, acknowledging the eminent services of the Duke of Marlborough, yet expressing their apprehension of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown, which had been so much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness. The queen was satisfied with their apology; but their refusal in all probability helped to alienate the duke from the tories, with whom he had been hitherto connected.

In the beginning of January, the queen gave the House of Commons to understand, that the States-General had pressed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The Commons immediately resolved, that ten thousand men should be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but on condition that

The Earl of  
Marlborough  
created a  
duke.

an immediate stop should be put to all commerce and correspondence with France and Spain on the part of the States-General. The Lords presented an address to the queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and she owned that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffic with the French; and, at this very juncture, Louis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the channel of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The States-General, though shocked at the imperious manner in which the Parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

All commerce and correspondence prohibited between Holland and the two crowns of France and Spain.

The Commons of this Parliament had nothing more at heart than a bill against occasional conformity. The tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends to the church and monarchy; and they hated the dissenters with a mixture of spiritual and political disgust. They looked upon these last as an intruding sect, which constituted great part of the whig faction, that extorted such immense sums of money from the nation in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements, from whence it had no prospect of deliverance. They considered them as encroaching schismatics that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and those of their own communion who recommended moderation they branded with the epithets of lukewarm Christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to approve themselves zealous sons of the church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached, and pamphlets were printed, to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the House of Commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. In the preamble, all persecution for conscience-sake was condemned; nevertheless it enacted that all those who had taken the sacrament and test for

A bill for preventing occasional conformity.

offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment till after one whole year's conformity; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill alleged, that an established religion and national church were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this national church would be the maintenance of the civil power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the Parliament, by the corporation and test acts, thought they had raised a sufficient barrier to the hierarchy, never imagining that a set of men would rise up whose consciences would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them: that as the last reign began with an act in favour of dissenters, so the Commons were desirous that in the beginning of her majesty's auspicious government, an act should pass in favour of the church of England: that this bill did not intrench on the act of toleration, or deprive the dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the church of England: that occasional conformity was an evasion of the law, by which the dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management of all corporations: that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was intended only for the ease of tender consciences, and not to give a licence for occasional conformity: that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful and unlawful could justify the one; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who opposed the bill argued, that the dissenters were generally well affected to the present constitution: that to bring any real hardship upon them, or give rise to jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended



with dangerous consequences : that the toleration had greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means for increasing the votaries of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters : that the dissenters could not be termed schismatics without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated such schism, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad : that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the laws imposed on Papists, for assisting at the most solemn act of their religion : in a word, that toleration and tenderness had been always productive of peace and union, whereas persecution had never failed to excite disorder, and extend superstition. Many alterations and mitigations were proposed without effect. In the course of the debates, the dissenters were mentioned and reviled with great acrimony ; and the bill passed the Lower House by virtue of a considerable majority.

The Lords, apprehensive that the Commons would tack it to some money-bill, voted, that the annexing any <sup>It mis-</sup> clause to a money-bill was contrary to the constitu- <sup>carries.</sup> tion of the English government, and the usage of Parliament. The bill met with a very warm opposition in the Upper House, where a considerable portion of the whig interest still remained. These members believed that the intention of the bill was to model corporations, so as to eject all those who would not vote in elections for the tories. Some imagined this was a preparatory step towards a repeal of the toleration ; and others concluded that the promoters of the bill designed to raise such disturbances at home, as would discourage the allies abroad, and render the prosecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the bishops, and among these Burnet of Sarum, objected against it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conscience. Nevertheless, as the court supported this measure with its own power and influence, the bill made its way through the House, though not without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the Commons. The Lower House pretended, that the Lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the Commons should fix in bills sent up for their concurrence, on the supposition, that those were matters concerning money, the peculiar

province of the Lower House : the Lords ordered a minute inquiry to be made into all the rolls of Parliament since the reign of Henry the Seventh : and a great number of instances were found in which the Lords had begun the clauses imposing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the Commons, and even changed the uses to which they were applied. These precedents were entered in the books : but the Commons resolved to maintain their point without engaging in any dispute upon the subject. After warm debates, and a free conference between the two Houses, the Lords adhered to their amendments, though this resolution was carried by a majority of one vote only : the Commons persisted in rejecting them : the bill miscarried, and both Houses published their proceedings by way of appeal to the nation.\* A bill was now brought into the Lower House, granting another year's consideration to those who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales. The Lords added three clauses, importing, that those persons who should take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, unless they should be already legally filled ; that any person endeavouring to defeat the succession to the crown, as now limited by law, should be deemed guilty of high treason ; and that the oath of abjuration should be imposed upon the subjects in Ireland. The Commons made some opposition to the first clause ; but at length, the question being put, whether they should agree to the amendments, it was carried in the affirmative by one voice.

No object engrossed more time, or produced more violent debates, than did the inquiry into the public accounts. The commissioners appointed for this purpose pretended to have made great discoveries. They charged the Earl of Ranelagh, paymaster-general of the army, with flagrant mismanagement. He acquitted himself in such a manner as screened him from all severity of punishment : nevertheless, they expelled him from the House for a high crime and misdemeanour, in misapplying several sums of the public

Violent animosity between the two Houses, produced by the inquiry into the public accounts.

\* While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe published a pamphlet, entitled "The shortest Way with the Dissenters; or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church." The piece was a severe satire on the violence of the church party. The Commons ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly committed to Newgate, tried, condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

money; and he thought proper to resign his employment. A long address was prepared and presented to the queen, attributing the national debt to mismanagement of the funds; complaining that the old methods of the exchequer had been neglected; and that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the commissioners of the prizes. Previous to this remonstrance, the House, in consequence of the report of the committee, had passed several severe resolutions, particularly against Charles Lord Halifax, auditor of the receipt of the exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of trust. For these reasons they actually besought the queen, in an address, that she would give directions to the attorney-general to prosecute him for the said offences; and she promised to comply with their request. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to examine all the observations which the commissioners of accounts had offered to both Houses. They ascribed the national debt to deficiencies in the funds: they acquitted Lord Halifax, the lords of the treasury, and their officers, whom the Commons had accused; and represented these circumstances in an address to the queen, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular. This difference blew up a fierce flame of discord between the two Houses, which manifested their mutual animosity in speeches, votes, resolutions, and conferences. The Commons affirmed, that no cognizance the Lords could take of the public accounts would enable them to supply any deficiency, or appropriate any surplusage of the public money; that they could neither acquit nor condemn any person whatsoever upon any inquiry arising originally in their own House; and that their attempt to acquit Charles Lord Halifax was unparliamentary. The Lords insisted upon their right to take cognizance originally of all public accounts: they affirmed, that in their resolutions, with respect to Lord Halifax, they had proceeded according to the rules of justice. They owned, however, that their resolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that, finding a vote of the Commons reflected upon a member of their House, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legislative capacity. The queen interposed by a message to the Lords, desiring they would despatch the business in which they were engaged. The dispute continued even after this intimation: one conference was held after another, till at

length both sides despaired of an accommodation. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. On the twenty-seventh day of February the queen, having passed all the bills that were ready for the royal assent, ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue the Parliament, after having pronounced a speech in the usual style. She thanked them for their zeal, affection, and despatch; declared she would encourage and maintain the church as by law established; desired they would consider some further laws for restraining the great licence assumed for publishing scandalous pamphlets and libels; and assured them that all her share of the prizes which might be taken in the war should be applied to the public service. By this time the Earl of Rochester was entirely removed from the queen's councils. Finding himself outweighed by the interest of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, he had become sullen and intractable; and rather than repair to his government of Ireland, chose to resign the office, which, as we have already observed, was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, an accomplished nobleman, who had acquired great popularity by the success of the expedition to Vigo. The parties in the House of Lords were so nearly matched, that the queen, in order to ascertain an undoubted majority in the next session, created four new peers,<sup>1</sup> who had signalized themselves by the violence of their speeches in the House of Commons.

Disputes  
between  
the two  
Houses of  
Convoca-  
tion.

The two Houses of Convocation, which were summoned with the Parliament, bore a strong affinity with this assembly by the different interests that prevailed in the Upper and Lower. The last, in imitation of the Commons, was desirous of branding the preceding reign; and it was with great difficulty that they concurred with the prelates in an address of congratulation to her majesty. Then their former contest was revived. The Lower House desired, in an application to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans, that the matters in dispute concerning the manner of synodical proceedings, and the right of the Lower House to hold

<sup>1</sup> These were John Granville, created Baron Granville of Potheridge, in the county of Devon; Heneage Finch, Baron of Guernsey, in the county of Southampton; Sir John Levison Gower, Baron Gower of Sittenham, in Yorkshire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngest son of Sir Edward Seymour, made Baron Conway, of Bagley, in the county of Warwick. At the same time, however, John Harvey, of the opposite faction, was created Baron of Ickworth, in the county of Suffolk; and the Marquis of Normanby was honoured with the title of Duke of Buckinghamshire.

intermediate assemblies, might be taken into consideration, and speedily determined. The bishops proposed, that in the intervals of sessions, the Lower House might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when business should be brought regularly before them, the archbishop would regulate the prorogations in such a manner, that they should have sufficient time to sit and deliberate on the subject. This offer did not satisfy the Lower House, which was emboldened to persist in its demand by a vote of the Commons. These, in consequence of an address of thanks from the clergy, touching Mr. Lloyd, son to the Bishop of Worcester, whom they ordered to be prosecuted after his privilege as member of the Convocation should be expired, had resolved, that they would on all occasions assert the just rights and privileges of the Lower House of Convocation. The prelates refused to depart from the archbishop's right of proroguing the whole Convocation with consent of his suffragans. The Lower House proposed to refer the controversy to the queen's decision. The bishops declined this expedient, as inconsistent with the episcopal authority, and the presidency of the archbishop. The Lower House, having incurred the imputation of favouring presbytery, by this opposition to the bishops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of bishops as superior to presbyters, and to be a divine apostolical institution. Then they desired the bishops, in an address, to concur in settling the doctrine of the divine apostolical right of episcopacy, that it might be a standing rule of the church. They likewise presented a petition to the queen, complaining, that in the convocation called in the year 1700, after an interruption of ten years, several questions having arisen concerning the rights and liberties of the Lower House, the bishops had refused a verbal conference; and afterwards declined a proposal to submit the dispute to her majesty's determination; they, therefore, fled for protection to her majesty, begging she would call the question into her own royal audience. The queen promised to consider their petition, which was supported by the Earl of Nottingham; and ordered the council to examine the affair, how it consisted with law and custom. Whether their report was unfavourable to the Lower House, or the queen was unwilling to encourage the division, no other answer was made to their address. The archbishop replied to their request presented

to the Upper House, concerning the divine right of presbytery, that the preface to the form of ordination contained a declaration of three orders of ministers from the times of the apostles; namely, bishops, priests, and deacons; to which they had subscribed: but he and his brethren conceived, that, without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, which should concern either doctrine or discipline. The Lower House answered this declaration in very petulant terms; and the dispute subsisted when the Parliament was prorogued. But these contests produced divisions through the whole body of the clergy, who ranged themselves in different factions, distinguished by the names of high-church and low-church. The first consisted of ecclesiastical tories; the other included those who professed revolution principles, and recommended moderation towards the dissenters. The high-church party reproached the other as time-servers, and presbyterians in disguise; and were, in their turn, stigmatized as the friends and abettors of tyranny and persecution. At present, however, the tories both in church and state triumphed in the favour of their sovereign. The right of Parliaments, the memory of the late king, and even the act limiting the succession of the house of Hanover, became the subjects of ridicule. The queen was flattered as possessor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy: the history written by her grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, was now for the first time published, to inculcate the principles of obedience, and inspire the people with an abhorrence of opposition to an anointed sovereign. Her majesty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the Confessor; and, as heir of his pretended sanctity and virtue, she was persuaded to touch persons afflicted with the king's evil, according to the office inserted in the Liturgy for this occasion.

The change of the ministry in Scotland seemed favourable to the episcopalians and anti-revolutioners of that kingdom. The Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford, were laid aside; the Earl of Seafield was appointed chancellor; the Duke of Queensberry, and the Lord Viscount Tarbat, were declared secretaries of state; the Marquis of Annandale was made president of the council, and the Earl of Tullibardine lord privy-seal. A new Parliament having been summoned, the

Account of  
the parties  
in Scotland.

Earl of Seafield employed his influence so successfully, that a great number of anti-revolutioners were returned as members. The Duke of Hamilton had obtained from the queen a letter to the privy-council in Scotland, in which she expressed her desire that the presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and lived with decency, and a submission to the law. The episcopal clergy, encouraged by these expressions in their favour, drew up an address to the queen, imploring her protection; and humbly beseeching her to allow those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders to bestow the benefice on ministers of their principles. This petition was presented by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scott, who were introduced by the Duke of Queensberry to her majesty. She assured them of her protection, and endeavours to supply their necessities; and exhorted them to live in peace and Christian love with the clergy, who were by law invested with the church government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. A proclamation of indemnity having been published in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their sentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to sit in Parliament. They formed an accession to the strength of the anti-revolutioners and episcopalians, who now hoped to outnumber the presbyterians, and outweigh their interest. But this confederacy was composed of dissonant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The presbyterians and revolutioners were headed by the Duke of Argyle. The country party of malecontents, which took its rise from the disappointments of the Darien settlement, acted under the auspices of the Duke of Hamilton and Marquis of Tweeddale; and the Earl of Hume appeared as chief of the anti-revolutioners. The different parties, who now united, pursued the most opposite ends. The majority of the country-party were friends to the Revolution, and sought only redress of the grievances which the nation had sustained in the late reign. The anti-revolutioners considered the accession and government of King William as an extraordinary event, which they were willing to forget, believing that all parties were safe

Burnet.  
Oldmixon.  
Torcet's  
Mem.  
Lamberty's  
Mem.  
Fauquieres,  
Burchet,  
Tindal,  
Lockhart's  
Mem.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.  
Hist. of  
the Duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough.  
Duchess of  
Marlbo-  
rough's  
Apol.

under the shelter of her majesty's general indemnity. The Jacobites submitted to the queen, as tutrix or regent for the Prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed she intended to establish on the throne. The whigs under Argyle, alarmed at the coalition of all their enemies, resolved to procure a parliamentary sanction for the Revolution.

The Parliament being opened on the sixth day of May, at Edinburgh, by the Duke of Queensberry, as commissioner, the queen's letter was read, in which she demanded a supply for the maintenance of the forces, advised them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wisdom, prudence, and unanimity. The Duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draft of a bill for recognizing her majesty's undoubted right and title to the imperial crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the estates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and, at the second reading, the queen's advocate offered an additional clause, denouncing the penalties of treason against any person who should question her majesty's right and title to the crown, or her exercise of the government, from her actual entry to the same. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the anti-revolutioners. Then the Earl of Hume produced the draft of a bill for the supply: immediately after it was read, the Marquis of Tweeddale made an overture, that, before all other business, the Parliament would proceed to make such conditions of government, and regulations in the constitution of the kingdom, to take place after the decease of her majesty and the heirs of her body, as should be necessary for the preservation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table, and in the mean time, the commissioner found himself involved in great perplexity. The Duke of Argyle, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Marchmont, gave him to understand in private, that they were resolved to move for an act, ratifying the Revolution; and for another, confirming the presbyterian government: that they would insist upon their being discussed before the bill of supply, and that they were certain of carrying the points at which they aimed. The commissioner now found himself reduced to a very disagreeable alternative. There was a necessity for relinquishing all hope of a supply, or abandoning the anti-revolutioners,

1703.  
Dangerous  
events in the  
Parliament  
of that  
kingdom.



to whom he was connected by promises of concurrence. The whigs were determined to oppose all schemes of supply that should come from the cavaliers; and these last resolved to exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the Revolution and the presbyterian discipline. He foresaw that on this occasion the whigs would be joined by the Duke of Hamilton and his party, so as to preponderate against the cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties; but found the task impracticable. He desired in Parliament, that the act for the supply might be read, promising that they should have full time afterwards to deliberate on other subjects. The Marquis of Tweeddale insisted upon his overture; and after warm debates, the House resolved to proceed with such acts as might be necessary for securing the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before any bill for supply or other business should be discussed. The Marquis of Athol offered an act for the security of the kingdom, in case of her majesty's decease; but before it was read, the Duke of Argyle presented his draft of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the succession after the death of her majesty, and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun. The Earl of Rothes recommended another, importing, that after her majesty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no person coming to the crown of Scotland, being at the same time King or Queen of England, should, as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the consent of Parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for securing the true Protestant religion and presbyterian government: one was also suggested by Sir Patrick Johnson, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors. All these bills were ordered to lie on the table. Then the Earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship. But against this the general assembly presented a most violent remonstrance: and the promoters of the bill, foreseeing that it would meet with great opposition, allowed it to drop for the present. On the third day of June, the Parliament passed the act for preserving the true reformed Protestant religion, and confirming presbyterian church government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Christ's church within the kingdom. The same party enjoyed a

further triumph in the success of Argyle's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the first act of King William's Parliament; for declaring it high treason to disown the authority of that Parliament, or to alter or renovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. This last clause was strenuously opposed; but at last the bill passed, with the concurrence of all the ministry, except the Marquis of Athol and the Viscount Tarbat, who began at this period to correspond with the opposite party.

The cavaliers, thinking themselves betrayed by the Duke of Queensberry, who had assented to these acts, first expostulated with him on his breach of promise, and then renounced his interest, resolving to separate themselves from the court, and jointly pursue such measures as might be for the interest of their party. But of all the bills that were produced in the course of this remarkable session, that which produced the most violent altercation was the act of security, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the crown, limit the successor, and throw a vast additional power into the hands of the Parliament. It was considered paragraph by paragraph: many additions and alterations were proposed, and some adopted: inflammatory speeches were uttered; bitter sarcasms retorted from party to party; and different votes passed on different clauses. At length, in spite of the most obstinate opposition from the ministry and the cavaliers, it was passed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The commissioner was importuned to give it the royal assent; but declined answering their entreaties till the tenth day of September. Then he made a speech in Parliament, giving them to understand that he had received the queen's pleasure, and was empowered to give the royal assent to all the acts voted in this session, except to the act for the security of the kingdom. A motion was made to solicit the royal assent in an address to her majesty; but the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a small majority. On the sixth day of the same month, the Earl of Marchmont had produced a bill to settle the succession on the house of Hanover. At first the import of it was not known; but when the clerk in reading it mentioned the Princess Sophia, the whole House was kindled into a flame. Some proposed that the overture should be burned: others moved that the earl might be sent prisoner to the castle: and a general dissatisfaction appeared

The commissioner is abandoned by the cavaliers.

in the whole assembly. Not that the majority in Parliament were averse to the succession in the house of Hanover; but they resolved to avoid a nomination without stipulating conditions; and they had already provided in the act of security, that it should be high treason to own any person as king or queen after her majesty's decease, until he or she should take the coronation oath, and accept the terms of the claim of right, and such conditions as should be settled in this or any ensuing Parliament.

Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity, who professed republican principles, and seemed designed by nature as a member of some Grecian commonwealth, after having observed that the nation would be enslaved, should it submit, either willingly or by commission, to the successor of England, without such conditions of government as should secure them against the influence of an English ministry, offered the draft of an act, importing that after the decease of her majesty, without heirs of her body, no person being successor to the English throne should succeed to the crown of Scotland, but under the following limitations, which, together with the coronation oath and claim of right, they should swear to observe; namely, that all offices and places, civil and military, as well as pensions, should for the future be conferred by a Parliament, to be chosen at every Michaelmas head-court, to sit on the first day of November, and adjourn themselves from time to time, till the ensuing Michaelmas: that they should choose their own president: that a committee of six-and-thirty members, chosen out of the whole Parliament, without distinction of estates, should, during the intervals of Parliament, be vested, under the king, with the administration of the government, act as his council, be accountable to Parliament, and call it together on extraordinary occasions. He proposed that the successor should be nominated by the majority; declaring for himself that he would rather concur in nominating the most rigid Papist with those conditions than the truest Protestant without them. The motion was seconded by many members; and though postponed for the present, in favour of an act of trade under the consideration of the House, it was afterwards resumed with great warmth. In vain the lord-treasurer represented that no funds were as yet provided for the army, and moved for a reading of the act presented

He is in danger of his life, and suddenly prorogues the Parliament.

for that purpose : a certain member observed, that this was a very unseasonable juncture to propose a supply, when the House had so much to do for the security of the nation : he said they had very little encouragement to grant supplies, when they found themselves frustrated of all their labour and expense for these several months ; and when the whole kingdom saw that supplies served for no other use but to gratify the avarice of some insatiable ministers. Mr. Fletcher expatiated upon the good consequences that would arise from the act which he had proposed. The chancellor answered, that such an act was laying a scheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the constitution of the monarchy. The ministry proposed a state of a vote, whether they should first give a reading to Fletcher's act, or to the act of subsidy. The country party moved that the question might be, "Overtures for subsidies, or overtures for liberty." Fletcher withdrew his act, rather than people should pervert the meaning of laudable designs. The House resounded with the cry of "Liberty or subsidy." Bitter invectives were uttered against the ministry. One member said, it was now plain the nation was to expect no other return for their expense and toil, than that of being loaded with a subsidy, and being obliged to bend their necks under the yoke of slavery, which was prepared for them from that throne : another observed, that as their liberties were suppressed, so the privileges of Parliament were like to be torn from them ; but that he would venture his life in defence of his birth-right, and rather die a free man than live a slave. When the vote was demanded, and declined by the commissioner, the Earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of obtaining so natural and undeniable a privilege of Parliament, they would demand it with their swords in their hands. The commissioner, foreseeing this spirit of freedom and contradiction, had ordered the foot-guard to be in readiness, and placed a strong guard upon the eastern gate of the city. Notwithstanding these precautions, he ran the risk of being torn in pieces ; and, in this apprehension, ordered the chancellor to inform the House, that the Parliament should proceed upon overtures for liberty at their next sitting. This promise allayed the ferment which had begun to rise. Next day the members prepared an overture, implying, that the elective members should be chosen for every seat at the Michaelmas head-courts : that a Parliament should be held

once in two years at least: that the short adjournments *de die in diem* should be made by the Parliaments themselves, as in England; and that no officer in the army, customs, or excise, nor any gratuitous pensioner, should sit as an elective member. The commissioner, being apprized of their proceedings, called for such acts as he was empowered to pass, and having given the royal assent to them, prorogued the Parliament to the twelfth day of October.\* Such was the issue of this remarkable session of the Scottish Parliament, in which the Duke of Queensberry was abandoned by the greatest part of the ministry; and such a spirit of ferocity and opposition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confusion. The queen conferred titles upon those<sup>b</sup> who appeared to have influence in the nation, and attachment to her government, and revived the Order of the Thistle, which the late king had dropped.

Ireland was filled with discontent, by the behaviour and conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates. The Earl of Rochester had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the factions which had been imported from England. The Duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his ancestors, who had been the bulwarks of the Protestant interest in Ireland. He opened the Parliament on the twenty-first day of September, with a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his inclination, his interest, and the examples of his progenitors, were indispensable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and prosperity of his native country. The Commons, having chosen Allen Broderick to be their speaker, proceeded to draw up very affectionate addresses

Proceedings  
of the Irish  
Parliament.

\* Though the queen refused to pass the act of security, the royal assent was granted to an act of limitation on the successor, in which it was declared, that no King or Queen of Scotland should have power to make war or peace without consent of Parliament. Another law was enacted, allowing French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms: without this expedient, it was alleged, that the revenue would have been insufficient to maintain the government. An act passed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commission concerning the public accounts; a third for punishing slanderous speeches and writings. The commission for treating of a union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commission for that purpose without consent of Parliament; and no supply having been provided before the adjournment, the army and expense of government were maintained upon credit.

<sup>b</sup> The Marquis of Athol, and the Marquis of Douglas, though this last was a minor, were created dukes. Lord Tarbat was invested with the title of Earl of Cromarty; the Viscounts Stair and Roseberry were promoted to the same dignity. Lord Boyle was created Earl of Glasgow; James Stewart, of Bute, Earl of Bute; Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, Earl of Hopetoun; John Crawford, of Kilbirnie, Viscount Garnock; and Sir James Primrose, of Carrington, Viscount Primrose.

to the queen and the lord-lieutenant. In that to the queen they complained, that their enemies had misrepresented them, as desirous of being independent of the crown of England; they, therefore, to vindicate themselves from such false aspersions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial crown of England. In order to express their hatred of the trustees, they resolved that all the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented, traduced, and abused, in a book entitled "The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Irish Forfeitures;" and it appearing that Francis Annesley, member of the House, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further resolved, that these persons had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the Protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the Protestants of Ireland. Annesley was expelled the House, Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finished the inquiry before the meeting of this Parliament; and sold, at an under value, the best of the forfeited estates to the sword-blade company of England. This, in a petition to the Irish Parliament, prayed that the heads of a bill be brought in for enabling them to take conveyance of lands in Ireland; but the Parliament was very little disposed to confirm the bargains of the trustees, and the petition lay neglected on the table. The House expelled John Asgill, who, as agent to the sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the public in Ireland, on condition that the Parliament would pass an act to confirm the company's purchase of the forfeited estates. His constituents disowned his proposal; and when he was summoned to appear before the House, and answer for his prevarication, he pleaded his privilege as member of the English Parliament. The Commons, in a representation of the state and grievances of the nation, gave her majesty to understand, that the constitution of Ireland had been of late greatly shaken; and their lives, liberties, and estates, called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors; that the expense to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the late trustees for the forfeited estates, in defending their just rights and titles, had exceeded in

value the current cash of the kingdom : that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted, and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures : that many Protestant families had been constrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries : that the want of frequent Parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppress the subject : that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoverished country, by the exercise of corruption and oppression : that others, in considerable employments, resided in another kingdom, neglecting personal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill-executed, to the detriment of the public, and the failure of justice. They declared, that it was from her majesty's gracious interposition alone they proposed to themselves relief from those their manifold grievances and misfortunes. The Commons afterwards voted the necessary supplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the necessary branches of the establishment.

They appointed a committee to inspect the public accounts, by which they discovered, that above one hundred thousand pounds had been falsely charged as a debt upon the nation. The committee was thanked by the House for having saved this sum, and ordered to examine what persons were concerned in such a misrepresentation, which was generally imputed to those who acted under the Duke of Ormond. He himself was a nobleman of honour and generosity, addicted to pleasure, and fond of popular applause ; but he was surrounded by people of more sordid principles, who had ingratiated themselves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The Commons voted a provision for the half-pay officers ; and abolished pensions to the amount of seventeen thousand pounds a year, as unnecessary branches of the establishment. They passed an act settling the succession of the crown, after the pattern set them, by England : but the most important transaction of this session was a severe bill to prevent the growth of popery. It bore a strong affinity to that which had passed three years before in England ; but contained more effectual clauses. Among others, it enacted, that all estates of Papists should be equally divided among the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they might be settled should qualify themselves by

They pass a  
severe act  
against  
Papists.

taking the oaths, and communicating with the Church of England. The bill was not at all agreeable to the ministry in England, who expected large presents from the Papists, by whom a considerable sum had been actually raised for this purpose. But as they did not think proper to reject such a bill while the English Parliament was sitting, they added a clause which they hoped the Parliament of Ireland would refuse, namely, that no persons in that kingdom should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament according to the test act passed in England. Though this was certainly a great hardship on the Dissenters, the Parliament of Ireland sacrificed this consideration to their common security against the Roman Catholics, and accepted the amendment without hesitation. This affair being discussed, the Commons of Ireland passed a vote against a book entitled "*Memoirs of the late King James II.*" as a seditious libel. They ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the House, that in the county of Limerick, the Irish Papists had begun to form themselves into bodies; to plunder the Protestants of their arms and money; and to maintain a correspondence with the disaffected in England. The House immediately resolved, that the Papists of the kingdom still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name of the Prince of Wales in the lifetime of the late King James, and now by the name of James III. In the midst of this zeal against popery and the pretender they were suddenly adjourned by the command of the lord-lieutenant, and broke up in great animosity against that nobleman.<sup>1</sup>

The attention of the English ministry had been for some time chiefly engrossed by the affairs of the continent. The emperor agreed with the allies, that his son the Archduke Charles should assume the title of King of Spain, demand the Infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake something of importance, with the assistance of the maritime powers. Mr. Methuen,

The Elector of Bavaria defeats the imperialists at Scardingen, and takes possession of Ratisbon.

<sup>1</sup> They had besides the bills already mentioned passed an act for an additional excise on beer, ale, and other liquors: another encouraging the importation of iron and staves: a third for preventing popish priests from coming into the kingdom: a fourth securing the liberty of the subject; and for prevention of imprisonment beyond seas: and a fifth for naturalizing all Protestant strangers.



the English minister at Lisbon, had already made some progress in a treaty with his Portuguese majesty; and the court of Vienna promised to send such an army into the field as would in a little time drive the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But they were so dilatory in their preparations, that the French king broke all their measures, by sending powerful reinforcements to the elector, in whose ability and attachment Louis reposed great confidence. Mareschal Villars, who commanded an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburg, passed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl, the garrison of which was conducted to Philipsburgh. The emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered Count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Saltsburgh, with a considerable body of forces; and sent another under Count Stirum, to invade the same electorate by the way of Newmark, which was surrendered to him after he had routed a party of Bavarians: the city of Amberg met with the same fate. Meanwhile Count Schlick defeated a body of militia that defended the lines of Saltsburgh, and made himself master of Riedt, and several other places. The elector, assembling his forces near Brenau, diffused a report that he intended to besiege Passau, to cover which place Schlick advanced with the greatest part of his infantry, leaving behind his cavalry and cannon. The elector, having by this feint divided the imperialists, passed the bridge of Scardingen with twelve thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, compelled the imperialists to abandon the field of battle: then he marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery; and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely defeated. In a few days after these actions he took Newburgh on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the imperialists near Burgenfelt, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburgh Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Ratisbon, where the diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge and gate of the city. The burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts: but when they saw a battery erected against them, and the elector determined to bombard the place, they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took possession of the town on the eighth

day of April, and signed an instrument, obliging himself to withdraw his troops as soon as the emperor should ratify the diet's resolution for the neutrality of Ratisbon. Marschal Villars having received orders to join the elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under Count Tallard, resolved to break through the lines which the Prince of Baden had made at Stolhoffen. This general had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with such obstinate resolution, that Villars was obliged to retreat with great loss, and directed his route towards Offingen. Nevertheless, he penetrated through the Black-Forest, and effected a junction with the elector. Count Stirum endeavoured to join Prince Louis of Baden; but being attacked near Schwemmingen, retired under the cannon of Nortlingen.

The confederates were more successful on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April; and assembling the allied army, resolved that the campaign should be begun with the siege of Bonne, which was accordingly invested on the twenty-fourth day of April. Three different attacks were carried on against this place: one by the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by Lieutenant-General Fagel. The garrison defended themselves vigorously till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by assault, and the breaches rendered practicable, the Marquis d'Alegre, the governor, ordered a parley to be beat: hostages were immediately exchanged; on the sixteenth the capitulation was signed; and in three days the garrison evacuated the place, in order to be conducted to Luxemburgh. During the siege of Bonne, the Mareschals Boufflers and Villeroy advanced with an army of forty thousand men towards Tongeren; and the confederate army, commanded by M. d'Auverquerque, was obliged at their approach to retreat under the cannon of Maestricht. The enemy, having taken possession of Tongeren, made a motion against the confederate army, which they found already drawn up in order of battle, and so advantageously posted, that, notwithstanding their great superiority in point of number, they would not hazard an attack, but retired to the ground from whence they had advanced. Immediately after

The allies  
reduce  
Bonne.

the reduction of Bonne, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been present at the siege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty squadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the duke having passed the river Jecker, in order to give battle to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boekwern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The duke continued to follow them to Thys, where he encamped, while they retreated to Hannye, retiring as he advanced. Then he resolved to force their lines: this service was effectually performed by Coehorn, at the point of Callo, and by Baron Spaar, in the county of Waes, near Stoken. The duke had formed the design of reducing Antwerp, which was garrisoned by Spanish troops under the command of the Marquis de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy's lines on the side of Louvaine and Mechlin: he detached Coehorn with his flying camp to the right of the Scheldt, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuse the Marquis de Bedmar, on that side; and he ordered the Baron Opdam, with twelve thousand men, to take post between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp, that he might act against that part of the lines which was guarded by the Spanish forces.

The French generals, in order to frustrate the scheme of Marlborough, resolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Boufflers, with a detachment of twenty thousand men from Villeroi's army, surprised him at Eckeren, where the Dutch were put in disorder; and Opdam, believing all was lost, fled to Breda. Nevertheless, the troops, rallying under General Schlangenburgh, maintained their ground with the most obstinate valour till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communication free with fort Lillo, to which place the confederates marched without further molestation, having lost about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage sustained by the French was more considerable. They were frustrated in their design, and had actually abandoned the field of battle; yet Louis ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for the victory: nevertheless, Boufflers was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and in a little time totally disgraced. Opdam presented a justification of his conduct to the States-General; but by this oversight he forfeited the

fruits of a long service, during which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The states honoured Schlangenburgh with a letter of thanks for the valour and skill he had manifested in this engagement; but in a little time they dismissed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the Duke of Marlborough, by censuring his grace for exposing such a small number of men to this disaster. After this action, Villeroy, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogstraet, with a view to give him battle; but, at his approach, the French general, setting fire to his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the duke invested Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on the twenty-seventh day of August. At a council of war held in the camp of the confederates, the duke proposed to attack the enemy's lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, and was seconded by the Danish, Hanoverian, and Hessian generals; but the scheme was opposed by the Dutch officers, and the deputies of the states, who alleged that the success was dubious, and the consequences of forcing the lines would be inconsiderable; they therefore recommended the siege of Limburg, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and cover their own country, as well as Juliers and Gueldres, from the designs of the enemy. The siege of Limburg was accordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five-and-twentieth day of September, and in two days the place was surrendered; the garrison remaining prisoners of war. By this conquest the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the incursions of the enemy: before the end of the year, they remained masters of the whole Spanish Guelderland, by the reduction of Gueldres, which surrendered on the seventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bombarded, and reduced to a heap of ashes by the Prussian general, Lottum. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the Duke of Marlborough been restricted by the deputies of the States-General, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvestein faction, ever averse to a single dictator.

The French king redoubled his efforts in Germany. The

Duke de Vendome was ordered to march from the Milanese to Tyrol, and there join the Elector of Bavaria, who had already made himself master of Inspruck. But the boors, rising in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French general, who was, therefore, obliged to return to the Milanese. The imperialists in Italy were so ill supplied by the court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offensively. The French invested Ostiglia, which, however, they could not reduce : but the fortress of Barsillo, in the duchy of Reggio, capitulating after a long blockade, they took possession of the Duke of Modena's country. The Elector of Bavaria rejoining Villars, resolved to attack Count Stirum, whom Prince Louis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view, they passed the Danube at Donawert, and discharged six guns, as a signal for the Marquis d'Usson, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to fall upon the rear of the imperialists, while they should charge them in front. Stirum no sooner perceived the signal, than he guessed the intention of the enemy, and instantly resolved to attack D'Usson, before the elector and the mareschal should advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of some select squadrons with such impetuosity, that the French cavalry were totally defeated ; and all his infantry would have been killed and taken, had not the elector and Villars come up in time to turn the fate of the day. The action continued from six in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Stirum, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to Norlingen, with the loss of twelve thousand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Tallard, undertook the siege of old Brisac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very strongly fortified, though the garrison was small, and ill provided with necessaries. In fourteen days, the governor surrendered the place, and was condemned to lose his head for having made such a slender defence. The Duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Versailles, and Tallard was ordered to invest Landau. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel being detached from the Netherlands for the relief of the place, joined the Count of Nassau-Weilbourg, general of the Palatine forces, near Spires, where they resolved to attack the French in their lines. But by this time Monsieur Pracontal, with ten thousand men, had joined Tallard, and

The Prince of Hesse is defeated by the French at Spire-bach.

enabled him to strike a stroke which proved decisive. He suddenly quitted his lines, and surprised the prince at Spirebach, where the French obtained a complete victory, after a very obstinate and bloody engagement, in which the Prince of Hesse distinguished himself by uncommon marks of courage and presence of mind. Three horses were successively killed under him, and he slew a French officer with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loss of some thousands. The French paid dear for their victory, Pracontal having been slain in the action. Nevertheless, they resumed the siege, and the place was surrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finished with the reduction of Augsburgh by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being secured by a French garrison.

The emperor's affairs at this juncture wore a very unpromising aspect. The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarously oppressed, by those to whom he entrusted the government of their country. They derived courage from despair. They seized this opportunity, when the emperor's forces were divided, and his councils distracted, to exert themselves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms, under the auspices of Prince Ragotzki. They demanded that their grievances should be redressed, and their privileges restored. Their resentment was kept up by the emissaries of France and Bavaria, who likewise encouraged them to persevere in their revolt, by repeated promises of protection and assistance. The emperor's prospect, however, was soon mended, by two incidents of very great consequence to his interest. The Duke of Savoy, foreseeing how much he should be exposed to the mercy of the French king, should that monarch become master of the Milanese, engaged in a secret negotiation with the emperor, which, notwithstanding all his caution, was discovered by the court of Versailles. Louis immediately ordered the Duke de Vendome to disarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two-and-twenty thousand men; to insist upon the Duke's putting him in possession of four considerable fortresses; and demand that the number of his troops should be reduced to the establishment stipulated in the treaty of 1696. The duke, exasperated at these insults, ordered the French ambassador, and several officers of the

Treaty between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy. The King of Portugal accedes to the grand alliance.

same nation, to be arrested. Louis endeavoured to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to understand, that since neither religion, honour, interests, nor alliances, had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendome should make known the intentions of the French monarch, and allow him four-and-twenty hours to deliberate on the measures he should pursue. This letter was answered by a manifesto: in the mean time, the duke concluded a treaty with the court of Vienna; acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain; and sent envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his selfish disposition, assured him of her friendship and assistance; and both she and the states sent ambassadors to Turin. He was immediately joined by a body of imperial horse under Visconti, and afterwards by Count Staremberg, at the head of fifteen thousand men, with whom that general marched from the Modenese, in the worst season of the year, through an enemy's country, and roads that were deemed impassable. In vain the French forces harassed him in his march, and even surrounded him in many different places on the route: he surmounted all these difficulties with incredible courage and perseverance, and joined the Duke of Savoy at Canelli, so as to secure the country of Piedmont. The other incident which proved so favourable to the imperial interest was a treaty by which the King of Portugal acceded to the grand alliance. His ministry perceived, that, should Spain be once united to the crown of France, their master would sit very insecure upon his throne. They were intimidated by the united fleets of the maritime powers, which maintained the empire of the sea; and they were allured by the splendour of a match between their Infanta and the Archduke Charles, to whom the emperor and King of the Romans promised to transfer all their pretensions to the Spanish crown. By this treaty, concluded at Lisbon, between the emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States-General, it was stipulated, that King Charles should be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, with a great supply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he should be joined immediately upon his landing by an army of eight-and-twenty thousand Portuguese.

The confederates reaped very little advantage from the naval operations of this summer. Sir George Rooke cruized

in the channel, in order to alarm the coast of France, and protect the trade of England. On the first day of July, Sir Cloudesley Shovel sailed from St. Helen's, with the combined squadrons of England and Holland; he directed his course to the Mediterranean, and being reduced to great difficulty by want of water, steered to Altea, on the coast of Valentia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with five-and-twenty hundred marines. The admiral published a short manifesto, signifying that he was not come to disturb, but to protect the good subjects of Spain, who would swear allegiance to their lawful monarch, the Archduke Charles, and endeavour to shake off the yoke of France. This declaration produced little or no effect; and the fleet being watered, Sir Cloudesley sailed to Leghorn. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the States-General. The admiral detached two ships into the gulf of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois: but the Mareschal de Montrevil, having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication; and the English captains, having repeated their signals to no purpose, rejoined Sir Cloudesley at Leghorn. This admiral, having renewed the peace with the piratical states of Barbary, returned to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at the fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expense. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provisions; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as counsel to the lord high admiral.

Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean Captain Hovenden Walker with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers for the Leeward Islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Codrington,

Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a fleet to the Mediterranean.

Admiral Graydon's bootless expedition to the West Indies.



they made a descent upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and re-embarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed nine hundred men on the back of the island. They retired to Nevis, where they must have perished by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by Vice-Admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow, and was convoyed about one hundred and fifty leagues by two other ships of the line. He had not sailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French squadron, commanded by Du Casse, on their return from the West Indies, very foul, and richly laden. Captain Cleland, of the *Montagu*, engaged the sternmost; but he was called off by a signal from the admiral, who proceeded on his voyage without taking further notice of the enemy. When he arrived at Jamaica, he quarrelled with the principal planters of the island; and his ships beginning to be crazy, he resolved to return to England. He accordingly sailed through the gulf of Florida, with a view to attack the French at Placentia, in Newfoundland; but his ships were dispersed in a fog that lasted thirty days; and afterwards, the council of war which he convoked were of opinion that he could not attack the settlement with any prospect of success. At his return to England, the House of Lords, then sitting, set on foot an inquiry into his conduct. They presented an address to the queen, desiring she would remove him from his employments; and he was accordingly dismissed. The only exploit that tended to distress the enemy was performed by Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, sailed to the coast of France with a small squadron; and in the neighbourhood of Granville, took or destroyed about forty ships and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconsiderable when compared to that which the English navy sustained from the dreadful tempest that began to blow on the twenty-seventh day of November, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole kingdom with consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and some of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water overflowed several streets, and rose to a considerable height in Westminster-hall. London-bridge was almost choked up with the wrecks of vessels that

perished in the river. The loss sustained by the capital was computed at a million sterling; and the city of Bristol suffered to a prodigious amount; but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with fifteen hundred seamen, including Rear-Admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered. This great loss, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the astonishment of all Europe. The queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than that which had been destroyed, and she exercised her bounty for the relief of the shipwrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in such a manner as endeared her to all her subjects.

The emperor having declared his second son Charles King of Spain, that young prince set out from Vienna to Holland, and at Dusseldorp was visited by the Duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his mistress, congratulated him upon his accession to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the most obliging courtesy. In the course of their conversation, taking off his sword, he presented it to the English general, with a very gracious aspect, saying, in the French language, "I am not ashamed to own myself a poor prince. I possess nothing but my cloak and sword; the latter may be of use to your grace; and I hope you will not think it the worse for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary," replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majesty's just right and title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard my life in making you the greatest prince in Christendom." This nobleman returned to England in October, and King Charles, embarking for the same kingdom, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-sixth day of November. There he was received by the Dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor; and on the road he was met by Prince George of Denmark. The queen's deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expressed the most profound respect and veneration for this illustrious princess. He spoke but little, yet what he said was judicious, and he behaved with such politeness and affability, as conciliated the affection of the English nobility. After having been

Charles,  
King of  
Spain, ar-  
rives in  
England.

magnificently entertained for three days, he returned to Portsmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he sailed for Portugal, with a great fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land-forces, under the Duke of Schomberg. When the admiral had almost reached Cape Finisterre, he was driven back by a storm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February. Then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Lisbon, where King Charles was received with great splendour, though the court of Portugal was overspread with sorrow, excited by the death of the Infanta, whom the King of Spain intended to espouse. In Poland, all hope of peace seemed to vanish. The cardinal-primate, by the instigation of the Swedish king, whose army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzic, assembled a diet at Warsaw, which solemnly deposed Augustus, and declared the throne vacant. Their intention was to elect young Sobieski, son of their late monarch, who resided at Breslau, in Silesia; but their scheme was anticipated by Augustus, who retired hastily into his Saxon dominions, and seizing Sobieski, with his brother, secured them as prisoners at Dresden.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMMONS REVIVE THE BILL AGAINST OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY. — CONSPIRACY TRUMPED UP BY SIMON FRAZER, LORD LOVAT. — THE LORDS PRESENT A REMONSTRANCE TO THE QUEEN. — THE COMMONS PASS A VOTE IN FAVOUR OF THE EARL OF NOTTINGHAM. — SECOND REMONSTRANCE OF THE LORDS. — FURTHER DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES. — THE QUEEN GRANTS THE FIRST-FRUIT AND THE TENTHS TO THE POOR CLERGY. — INQUIRY INTO NAVAL AFFAIRS. — TRIAL OF LINDSAY. — MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT. — VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO THE MINISTRY IN THAT KINGDOM. — THEIR PARLIAMENT PASS THE ACT OF SECURITY. — MELANCHOLY SITUATION OF THE EMPEROR'S AFFAIRS. — THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH MARCHES AT THE HEAD OF THE ALLIED ARMY INTO GERMANY. — HE DEFEATS THE BAVARIANS AT SCHELLENBERG. — FRUITLESS NEGOTIATION WITH THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA. — THE CONFEDERATES OBTAIN A COMPLETE VICTORY AT HOCHSTADT. — SIEGE OF LANDAU. — THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH RETURNS TO ENGLAND. — STATE OF THE WAR IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF EUROPE. — CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL. — SIR GEORGE ROOKE TAKES GIBRALTER — AND WORST THE FRENCH FLEET IN A BATTLE OFF MALAGA. — SESSION OF PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND. — AN ACT OF ALIENATION PASSED AGAINST THE SCOTS. — MANOR OF WOODSTOCK GRANTED TO THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. — DISPUTES BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES ON THE SUBJECT OF THE AYLBURY CONSTABLES. — THE PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND. — THEY PASS AN ACT FOR A TREATY OF UNION WITH ENGLAND. — DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION IN IRELAND. — FRUITLESS CAMPAIGN ON THE MOSELLE. — THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH FORCES THE FRENCH LINES IN BRABANT. — HE IS PREVENTED BY THE DEPUTIES OF THE STATES FROM ATTACKING THE FRENCH ARMY. — HE VISITS THE IMPERIAL COURT OF VIENNA. — STATE OF THE WAR ON THE UPPER RHINE, IN HUNGARY, PIEDMONT, PORTUGAL, AND POLAND. — SIR THOMAS DILKE DESTROYS PART OF THE FRENCH FLEET, AND RELIEVES GIBRALTAR. — THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH AND SIR CLOUDESLEY SHEVEL REDUCE BARCELONA. — THE EARL'S SURPRISING PROGRESS IN SPAIN. — NEW PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND. — BILL FOR A REGENCY IN CASE OF THE QUEEN'S DECEASE. — DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS UPON THE SUPPOSED DANGER TO WHICH THE CHURCH WAS EXPOSED. — THE PARLIAMENT PROROGUED. — DISPUTES IN THE CONVOCATION. — CONFERENCES OPENED FOR A TREATY OF UNION WITH SCOTLAND. — SUBSTANCE OF THE TREATY.

WHEN the Parliament met in October, the queen in her speech took notice of the declaration by the Duke of Savoy, and the treaty with Portugal, as circumstances advantageous to the alliance. She told them, that although no provision was made for the expedition to Lisbon, and the augmentation of the land-forces, the funds had answered so well, and the produce of prizes been so considerable, that the public had not run in debt by those additional services: that she had contributed out of her own revenue to the support of the circle of Suabia, whose firm adherence to the interest of the allies deserved her seasonable assistance. She said, she

1703.  
The Commons revive the bill against occasional conformity.

would not engage in any unnecessary expense of her own, that she might have the more to spare towards the ease of her subjects. She recommended despatch and union, and earnestly exhorted them to avoid any heats or divisions that might give encouragement to the common enemies of the church and state. Notwithstanding this admonition, and the addresses of both Houses, in which they promised to avoid all divisions, a motion was made in the House of Commons for renewing the bill against occasional conformity, and carried by a great majority. In the new draft, however, the penalties were lowered, and the severest clauses mitigated. As the court no longer interested itself in the success of this measure, the House was pretty equally divided with respect to the speakers, and the debates on each side were maintained with equal spirit and ability: at length it passed and was sent up to the Lords, who handled it still more severely. It was opposed by a small majority of the bishops, and particularly by Burnet of Sarum, who declaimed against it, as a scheme of the Papists to set the church and Protestants at variance. It was successively attacked by the Duke of Devonshire, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lords Haversham, Mohun, Ferrars, and Wharton. Prince George of Denmark absented himself from the House; and the question being put for a second reading, it was carried in the negative; yet the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin entered their dissent against its being rejected, though the former had positively declared, that he thought the bill unseasonable. The Commons, having perused a copy of the treaty with Portugal, voted forty thousand men, including five thousand marines, for the sea service of the ensuing year; and a like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with the allies, besides the additional ten thousand: they likewise resolved, that the proportion to be employed in Portugal should amount to eight thousand. Sums were granted for the maintenance of these great armaments, as well as for the subsidies payable to her majesty's allies, and funds appointed equal to the occasion. Then they assured the queen, in an address, that they would provide for the support of such alliances as she had made, or should make, with the Duke of Savoy.

At this period the nation was alarmed by the detection of a conspiracy said to be hatched by the Jacobites of Scotland.

Simon Frazer, Lord Lovat, a man of desperate enterprise, profound dissimulation, abandoned morals, and ruined fortune, who had been outlawed for having ravished a sister of the Marquis of Athol, was the person to whom the plot seems to have owed its origin. He repaired to the court of St. Germain's, where he undertook to assemble a body of twelve thousand Highlanders to act in favour of the pretender, if the court of France would assist them with a small reinforcement of troops, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money. The French king seemed to listen to the proposal; but, as Frazer's character was infamous, he doubted his veracity. He was, therefore, sent back to Scotland with two other persons, who were instructed to learn the strength and sentiments of the clans, and endeavour to engage some of the nobility in the design of an insurrection. Frazer no sooner returned, than he privately discovered the whole transaction to the Duke of Queensberry, and undertook to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the pretender and the Jacobites. In consequence of this service he was provided with a pass, to secure him from all prosecution; and made a progress through the Highlands to sound the inclinations of the chieftains. Before he set out on this circuit, he delivered to the duke a letter from the queen dowager at St. Germain's directed to the Marquis of Athol; it was couched in general terms, and superscribed in a different character; so that, in all probability, Frazer had forged the direction, with a view to ruin the marquis, who had prosecuted him for the injury done to his sister. He proposed a second journey to France, where he should be able to discover other more material circumstances: and the Duke of Queensberry procured a pass for him to go to Holland from the Earl of Nottingham, though it was expedited under a borrowed name. The duke had communicated his discovery to the queen, without disclosing his name, which he desired might be concealed: her majesty believed the particulars, which were confirmed by her spies at Paris, as well as by the evidence of Sir John Maclean, who had lately been conveyed from France to England in an open boat, and apprehended at Folkstone. This gentleman pretended at first, that his intention was to go through England to his own country, in order to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; and this, in all probability, was his real

Conspiracy  
trumped up  
by Simon  
Frazer,  
Lord  
Lovat.

design; but being given to understand that he would be treated in England as a traitor, unless he should merit forgiveness by making important discoveries, he related all he knew of the proposed insurrection. From his informations the ministry gave directions for apprehending one Keith, whose uncle had accompanied Frazer from France, and knew all the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's. He declared that there was no other design on foot, except that of paving the way for the pretender's ascending the throne after the queen's decease. Ferguson, that veteran conspirator, affirmed that Frazer had been employed by the Duke of Queensberry to decoy some persons whom he hated into a conspiracy, that he might have an opportunity to effect their ruin, and by the discovery establish his own credit, which began to totter. Perhaps there was too much reason for this imputation. Among those who were seized at this time was a gentleman of the name of Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to the Earl of Middleton. He had returned from France to Scotland, in order to take the benefit of the queen's pardon, under the shelter of which he came to England, thinking himself secure from prosecution. He protested he knew of no designs against the queen or her government; and that he did not believe she would ever receive the least injury or molestation from the court of St. Germain's. The House of Lords, having received intimation of this conspiracy, resolved that a committee should be appointed to examine into the particulars; and ordered, that Sir John Maclean should be next day brought to their House. The queen, who was far from being pleased with this instance of their officious interposition, gave them to understand by message, that she thought it would be inconvenient to change the method of examination already begun; and that she would in a short time inform the House of the whole affair. On the seventeenth day of December the queen went to the House of Peers, and having passed the bill for the land-tax, made a speech to both Houses, in which she declared, that she had unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The Lords, persisting in their resolution to bring the inquiry into their own House, chose their select committee by ballot, and in an address, thanked her majesty for the information she had been pleased to communicate.

The Commons taking it for granted that the queen was disobliged at these proceedings of the Upper House, which, indeed, implied an insult upon her ministry, if not upon herself, presented an address, declaring themselves surprised to find, that when persons suspected of treasonable practices were taken into custody by her majesty's messengers, in order to be examined, the Lords, in violation of the known laws of the land, had wrested them out of her hands, and arrogated the examination solely to themselves; so that a due inquiry into the evil practices and designs against her majesty's person and government might, in a great measure, be obstructed. They earnestly desired that she would suffer no diminution of the prerogative; and they assured her they would, to the utmost of their power, support her in the exercise of it at home, as well as in asserting it against all invasions whatsoever. The queen thanked them for their concern and assurances; and was not ill pleased at the nature of the address; though the charge against the Peers was not strictly true; for there were many instances of their having assumed such a right of inquiry. The Upper House deeply resented the accusation. They declared that, by the known laws and customs of Parliament, they had an undoubted right to take examinations of persons charged with criminal matters, whether those persons were or were not in custody. They resolved, that the address of the Commons was unparliamentary, groundless, without precedent, highly injurious to the House of Peers, tending to interrupt the good correspondence between the two Houses, to create an ill opinion in her majesty of the House of Peers, of dangerous consequence to the liberties of the people, the constitution of the kingdom, and privileges of Parliament. They presented a long remonstrance to the queen, justifying their own conduct, explaining the steps they had taken, recriminating upon the Commons, and expressing the most fervent zeal, duty, and affection to her majesty. In her answer to this representation, which was drawn up with elegance, propriety, and precision, she professed her sorrow for the misunderstanding which had happened between the two Houses of Parliament, and thanked them for the concern they had expressed for the rights of the crown and the prerogative; which she should never exert so willingly as for the good of her subjects, and the protection of their liberties.

The Lords  
present a  
remon-  
strance to  
the queen.



Among other persons seized on the coast of Sussex, on their landing from France, was one Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to the Duke of Berwick. This man, when examined, denied all knowledge of any conspiracy; he said that, being weary of living so long abroad, and having made some unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pass, he had chosen rather to cast himself on the queen's mercy than to remain longer in exile from his native country. He was tried and condemned for high treason, yet continued to declare himself ignorant of the plot. He proved, that in the war of Ireland, as well as in Flanders, he had treated the English prisoners with great humanity. The Lords desisted from the prosecution; he obtained a reprieve, and died in Newgate. On the twenty-ninth day of January the Earl of Nottingham told the House, that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumstance which could not yet be properly communicated, without running the risk of preventing a discovery of greater importance. They forthwith drew up and presented an address, desiring that all the papers might be immediately submitted to their inspection. The queen said she did not expect to be pressed in this manner immediately after the declaration she had made; but in a few days the Earl of Nottingham delivered the papers, sealed, to the House, and all the Lords were summoned to attend on the eighth day of February, that they might be opened and perused. Nottingham was suspected of a design to stifle the conspiracy. Complaint was made in the House of Commons that he had discharged an officer belonging to the late King James, who had been seized by the governor of Berwick. A warm debate ensued, and at length ended in a resolve, that the Earl of Nottingham, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, for his great ability and diligence in the execution of his office, for his unquestionable fidelity to the queen and her government, and for his steady adherence to the church of England as by law established, highly merited the trust her majesty had reposed in him. They ordered the speaker to present this resolution to the queen, who said she was glad to find them so well satisfied with the Earl of Nottingham, who was trusted by her in so considerable an office. They perused the examina-

The Commons pass a vote in favour of the Earl of Nottingham.

tions of the witnesses which were laid before them, without passing judgment, or offering advice on the subject; but they thanked her majesty for having communicated those particulars, as well as for her wisdom and care of the nation. While the Lords proceeded with uncommon eagerness in their inquiry, the Lower House, in another address, renewed their complaints against the conduct of the Peers, which they still affirmed was without a precedent. But this was the language of irritated faction, by which indeed both sides were equally actuated.

The select committee of the Lords prosecuted the inquiry, and founded their report chiefly on the confession of Sir John Maclean, who owned that the court of St. Germain's had listened to Lovat's proposal; that several councils had been held at the pretender's court on the subject of an invasion; and that persons were sent over to sound some of the nobility in Scotland. But the nature of their private correspondence and negotiation could not be discovered. Keith had tampered with his uncle to disclose the whole secret; and this was the circumstance which the queen declined imparting to the Lords, until she should know the success of his endeavours, which proved ineffectual. The uncle stood aloof; and the ministry did not heartily engage in the inquiry. The House of Lords, having finished these examinations, and being warmed with violent debates, voted, that there had been dangerous plots between some persons in Scotland and the courts of France and St. Germain's; and, that the encouragement for this plotting arose from the not settling the succession to the crown of Scotland in the house of Hanover. These votes were signified to the queen in an address; and they promised, that when the succession should be thus settled, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms upon just and reasonable terms. Then they composed another representation, in answer to the second address of the Commons touching their proceedings. They charged the Lower House with want of zeal in the whole progress of this inquiry. They produced a great number of precedents, to prove that their conduct had been regular and parliamentary; and they, in their turn, accused the Commons of partiality and injustice in vacating legal elections. The queen, in answer to this remonstrance, said, she looked upon any misunderstanding between the two Houses as a very great misfortune to the kingdom; and that

Second remonstrance of the Lords.

she should never omit any thing in her power to prevent all occasions of them for the future.

The Lords and Commons, animated by such opposite principles, seized every opportunity of thwarting each other. An action having been brought by one Matthew Ashby against William White, and the other constables of Aylesbury, for having denied him the privilege of voting in the last election, the cause was tried at the assizes, and the constables were cast with damages. But an order was given in the Queen's Bench to quash all the proceedings, since no action had ever been brought on that account. The cause, being moved by writ of error into the House of Lords, was argued with great warmth: at length it was carried by a great majority, that the order of the Queen's Bench should be set aside, and judgment pronounced according to the verdict given at the assizes. The Commons considered these proceedings as encroaching on their privileges. They passed five different resolutions, importing that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled had the sole right to examine and determine all matters relating to the right of election of their own members: that the practice of determining the qualifications of electors in any court of law would expose all mayors, bailiffs, and returning officers, to a multiplicity of vexatious suits and insupportable expenses, and subject them to different and independent jurisdictions, as well as to inconsistent determinations in the same case, without relief: that Matthew Ashby was guilty of a breach of privilege, as were all attorneys, solicitors, counsellors, and serjeants at law, soliciting, prosecuting, or pleading in any case of the same nature. These resolutions, signed by the clerk, were fixed upon the gate of Westminster-hall. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to draw up a state of the case; and, upon their report, resolved, that every person being wilfully hindered to exercise his right of voting, might maintain an action in the queen's courts against the officer by whom his vote should be refused, to assert his right, and recover damages for the injury: that an assertion to the contrary was destructive of the property of the subjects, against the freedom of elections, and manifestly tended to the encouragement of partiality and corruption: that the declaring of Matthew Ashby guilty of a breach of privilege of the House of Commons was an unprecedented attempt upon the judicature of

Parliament, and an attempt to subject the law of England to the votes of the House of Commons. Copies of the case, and these resolutions, were sent by the lord-keeper to all the sheriffs of England, to be circulated through all the boroughs of their respective counties.

On the seventh day of February, the queen ordered secretary Hedges to tell the House of Commons, that she had remitted the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy: that she would grant her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it should become free from incumbrance, as an augmentation of their maintenance: that if the House of Commons could find any method by which her intentions to the poor clergy might be made more effectual, it would be an advantage to the public, and acceptable to her majesty. The Commons immediately brought in a bill, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and create a corporation by charter, to direct the application of it to the uses proposed: they likewise repealed the statute of mortmain, so far as to allow all men to bequeath by will, or grant by deed, any sum they should think fit to give towards the augmentation of benefices. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgment from all the clergy of England were presented to the queen for her gracious bounty; but very little regard was paid to Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, although the queen declared that prelate author of the project. He was generally hated, either as a Scot, a low-churchman, or a meddling partisan.

In March, an inquiry into the condition of the navy was begun in the House of Lords. They desired the queen, in an address, to give speedy and effectual orders, that a number of ships sufficient for the home service should be equipped and manned with all possible expedition. They resolved, that Admiral Graydon's not attacking the four French ships in the channel had been a prejudice to the queen's service, and a disgrace to the nation; that his pressing men in Jamaica, and his severity towards masters of merchant vessels and transports, had been a great discouragement to the inhabitants of that island, as well as prejudicial to her majesty's service; and they presented an address against him, in consequence of which he was dismissed. They examined the accounts of the Earl of Orford, against which great clamour had been raised; and taking cognizance of the remarks made by the commissioners

The queen grants the first-fruits and the tenths to the poor clergy.

Inquiry into naval affairs.

of the public accounts, found them false in fact, ill-grounded, and of no importance. The Commons besought the queen to order a prosecution on account of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office; and they sent up to the Lords a bill for continuing the commission on the public accounts. Some alterations were made in the Upper House, especially in the nomination of commissioners: but these were rejected by the Commons. The Peers adhering to their amendments, the bill dropped, and the commission expired. No other bill of any consequence passed in this session, except an act for raising recruits, which empowered justices of the peace to impress idle persons for soldiers and marines. On the third day of April the queen went to the House of Peers, and having made a short speech on the usual topics of acknowledgment, unity, and moderation, prorogued the Parliament to the fourth day of July. The division still continued between the two Houses of Convocation; so that nothing of moment was transacted in that assembly, except their address to the queen upon her granting the first-fruits and tenths for the augmentation of small benefices. At the same time, the Lower House sent their prolocutor with a deputation to wait upon the speaker of the House of Commons, to return their thanks to that honourable House for having espoused the interest of the clergy; and to assure them that the Convocation would pursue such methods as might best conduce to the support, honour, interest, and security of the church as now by law established. They sent up to the archbishop and prelates divers representations, containing complaints, and proposing canons and articles of reformation; but very little regard was paid to their remonstrances.

About this period the Earl of Nottingham, after having ineffectually pressed the queen to discard the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire, resigned the seals. The Earl of Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour were dismissed: the Earl of Kent was appointed chamberlain, Harley secretary of state, and Henry St. John secretary of war. The discovery of the Scottish conspiracy was no sooner known in France, than Louis ordered Frazer to be imprisoned in the Bastile. In England, Lindsay, being sentenced to die, for having corresponded with France, was given to understand that he had no mercy to expect, unless he would discover the conspiracy. He persisted in denying all knowledge of any such conspiracy; and scorned to save his life by giving false infor-

mation. In order to intimidate him into a confession, the ministry ordered him to be conveyed to Tyburn, where he still rejected life upon the terms proposed: then he was carried back to Newgate, where he remained some years: at length he was banished, and died of hunger in Holland. The ministers had been so lukewarm and languid in the investigation of the Scottish conspiracy, that the whigs loudly exclaimed against them as disguised Jacobites, and even whispered insinuations, implying, that the queen herself had a secret bias of sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain's. What seemed to confirm this allegation, was the disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, who had exerted himself with remarkable zeal in the detection; but the decline of his interest in Scotland was the real cause of his being laid aside at this juncture.

The design of the court was to procure in the Scottish Parliament the nomination of a successor to the crown, and a supply for the forces, which could not be obtained in the preceding session. Secretary Johnston, in concert with the Marquis of Tweeddale, undertook to carry these points, in return for certain limitations on the successor, to which her majesty agreed. The marquis was appointed commissioner. The office of lord-register was bestowed upon Johnston: and the Parliament met on the sixth day of July. The queen in her letter expressed her concern, that these divisions should have risen to such a height, as to encourage the enemies of the nation to employ their emissaries for debauching her good subjects from their allegiance. She declared her resolution to grant whatever could in reason be demanded for quieting the minds of the people. She told them she had empowered the Marquis of Tweeddale to give unquestionable proofs of her determination to maintain the government in church and state, as by law established in that kingdom; to consent to such laws as should be found wanting for the further security of both, and for preventing all encroachments for the future. She earnestly exhorted them to settle the succession in the Protestant line, as a step absolutely necessary for their own peace and happiness, the quiet and security of all her dominions, the reputation of her affairs abroad, and the improvement of the Protestant interest through all Europe. She declared, that

Meeting of  
the Scottish  
Parliament.

Burnet,  
History of  
Q. Anne,  
Feaquieres,  
Lockhart,  
Burchet,  
Tindal,  
Lives of the  
Admirals,  
Voltaire,  
History of  
Europe,  
History of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.

1704.

she had authorized the commissioner to give the royal assent to whatever could be reasonably demanded, and was in her power to grant, for securing the sovereignty and liberties of that her ancient kingdom. The remaining part of the letter turned upon the necessity of their granting a supply, the discouragement of vice, the encouragement of commerce, and the usual recommendation of moderation and unanimity.

The Duke of Hamilton presented a resolve, that the Parliament would not name a successor to the crown, until the Scots should have concluded a previous treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns. This motion produced a warm debate, in the course of which Fletcher of Saltoun expatiated upon the hardships and miseries which the Scots had sustained since the union of the two crowns under one sovereign, and the impossibility of bettering their condition, unless they should take care to anticipate any design that tended to a continuation of the same calamities. Another resolve was produced by the Earl of Rothes, importing, that the Parliament should proceed to make such limitations and conditions of the government as might be judged proper for rectifying the constitution, for vindicating and securing the sovereignty and independency of the nation; and that then Parliament would take into consideration the other resolve offered by the Duke of Hamilton, for a treaty previous to the nomination of a successor. This proposal was seconded by the court party, and violent heats ensued. At length, Sir James Falconer, of Phesdo, offered an expedient, which neither party could refuse with any show of moderation. He suggested a resolve, that the Parliament would not proceed to the nomination of a successor until the previous treaty with England should be discussed; and that it would make the necessary limitations and conditions of government before the successor should be nominated. This joint resolve, being put to the vote, was carried by a great majority. The treaty with England was neglected, and the affair of the succession consequently postponed. The Duke of Athol moved, that her majesty should be desired to send down the witnesses and all the papers relating to the conspiracy, that, after due examination, those who were unjustly accused might be vindicated, and the guilty punished according to their demerits. The commissioner declared, that he had already written, and

Violent opposition to the ministry in that kingdom.

would write again to the queen on that subject. The intention of the cavaliers was to convict the Duke of Queensberry of malice and calumny in the prosecution of that affair, that they might wreak their vengeance upon him for that instance of his animosity, as well as for his having deserted them in the former session. He found means, however, to persuade the queen, that such an inquiry would not only protract the session, but also divert them from the settlement of the succession, and raise such a ferment as might be productive of tragical consequences. Alarmed at these suggestions, she resolved to prevent the examination; and gave no answer to the repeated applications made by her Parliament and ministers. Meanwhile the Duke of Queensberry appeased his enemies in Scotland, by directing all his friends to join in the opposition.

The Duke of Hamilton again moved, that the Parliament should proceed to the limitations, and name commissioners to treat with England, previous to all other business, except an act for a land-tax of two months, necessary for the immediate subsistence of the forces.

The Earl of Marchmont proposed an act to exclude all popish successors; but this was warmly opposed, as unseasonable, by Hamilton and his party. A bill of supply being offered by the Lord Justice Clerk, the cavaliers tacked to it great part of the act of security, to which the royal assent had been refused in the former session. Violent debates arose; so that the House was filled with rage and tumult. The national spirit of independence had been wrought up to a dangerous pitch of enthusiasm. The streets were crowded with people of all ranks, exclaiming against English influence; and threatening to sacrifice as traitors to their country all who should embrace measures that seemed to favour a foreign interest. The commissioner and his friends were confounded and appalled. Finding it impossible to stem the torrent, he, with the concurrence of the other ministers, wrote a letter to the queen, representing the uncomfortable situation of affairs, and advising her majesty to pass the bill, encumbered as it was with the act of security. Lord Godolphin, on whose counsel she chiefly relied, found himself involved in great perplexity. The Tories had devoted him to destruction. He foresaw that the queen's concession to the Scots in an affair of such consequence would furnish his enemies with a plausible pretence to arraign the

Their Parliament pass the act of security.



conduct of her minister; but he chose to run that risk, rather than see the army disbanded for want of a supply, and the kingdom left exposed to an invasion. He, therefore, seconded the advice of the Scottish ministers; and the queen authorized the commissioner to pass the bill that was depending. This act provided, that in case of the queen's dying without issue, a Parliament should immediately meet, and declare the successor to the crown, different from the person possessing the throne of England, unless before that period a settlement should be made in Parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of English councils: by another clause they were empowered to arm and train the subjects, so as to put them in a posture of defence. The Scottish Parliament, having, by a laudable exertion of spirit, obtained this act of security, granted the supply without further hesitation; but, not yet satisfied with this sacrifice, they engaged in debates about the conspiracy, and the proceedings of the House of Lords in England, which they termed an officious intermeddling in their concerns, and an encroachment upon the sovereignty and independency of the nation. They drew up an address to the queen, desiring that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be subjected to their examination in the next session. Meanwhile, the commissioner, dreading the further progress of such an ungovernable ferocity, prorogued the Parliament to the seventh day of October. The act of security being transmitted to England, copies of it were circulated by the enemies of Godolphin, who represented it as a measure of that minister; and the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. People openly declared that the two kingdoms were now separated by law, so as never to be rejoined. Reports were spread, that great quantities of arms had been conveyed to Scotland, and that the natives were employed in preparations to invade England. All the blame of these transactions was imputed to Lord Godolphin, whom the Tories determined to attack, while the other party resolved to exert their whole influence for his preservation; yet, in all probability, he owed his immediate support to the success of his friend the Duke of Marlborough.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the situation to which the emperor was reduced in the beginning of the season. The malecontents in Hungary had rendered themselves formidable by their success: the

Melancholy  
situation of  
the emper-  
or's affairs.

Elector of Bavaria possessed all the places on the Danube, as far as Passau, and even threatened the city of Vienna, which must have been infallibly lost, had the Hungarians and Bavarians acted in concert. By the advice of Prince Eugene, the emperor implored the assistance of her Britannic majesty; and the Duke of Marlborough explained to her the necessity of undertaking his relief. This nobleman in the month of January had crossed the sea to Holland, and concerted a scheme with the deputies of the States-General for the operations of the ensuing campaign. They agreed, that General Auverquerque should lie upon the defensive with a small body of troops in the Netherlands; while the main army of the allies should act upon the Rhine, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough. Such was the pretext under which this consummate general concealed another plan, which was communicated to a few only, in whose discretion he could confide: It was approved by the pensionary and some leading men, who secured its favourable reception with the States-General, when it became necessary to impart the secret to that numerous assembly. In the mean time, the preparations were made, on pretence of carrying the war to the banks of the Moselle.

In the month of April, the duke, accompanied by his brother General Churchill, Lieutenant-General Lumley, the Earl of Orkney, and other officers of distinction, embarked for Holland, where he had a long conference with a deputation of the states, concerning a proposal of sending a large army towards the Moselle. The deputies of Zealand opposed this measure of sending their troops to such a distance so strenuously, that the Duke was obliged to tell them, in plain terms, he had received orders to march thither with the British forces. He accordingly assembled his army at Maestricht; and on the eighth day of May began his march into Germany. The French imagined his intention was to begin the campaign with the siege of Traerbach, and penetrate into France along the Moselle. In this persuasion they sent a detachment to that river; and gave out that they intended to invest Huy, a pretence to which the Duke paid no regard. He continued his route by Bedburgh, Kerpenord, Kalsecken: he visited the fortifications of Bonne, where he received certain advice that the recruits and reinforcements for the French army in Bavaria had joined the elector at

The Duke of Marlborough marches at the head of the allied army into Germany.

Villengen. He redoubled his diligence, passed the Neckar on the third of June, and halted at Ladenburgh; from thence he wrote a letter to the States-General, giving them to understand that he had the queen's orders to march to the relief of the empire; and expressing his hope that they would approve the design, and allow their troops to share the honour of the expedition. By the return of a courier he received their approbation, and full power to command their forces. He then proceeded to Mildenheim, where he was visited by Prince Eugene; and these two great men, whose talents were congenial, immediately contracted an intimacy of friendship. Next day Prince Louis of Baden arrived in the camp at Great Hippach. He told the duke, his grace was come to save the empire, and to give him an opportunity of vindicating his honour, which he knew was at the last stake in the opinion of some people. The duke replied, he was come to learn of him how to serve the empire: that they must be ignorant indeed, who did not know that the Prince of Baden, when his health permitted him, had preserved the empire, and extended its conquests.

Those three celebrated generals agreed that the two armies should join; that the command should be alternately vested in the duke and Prince Louis from day to day; and that Prince Eugene should command a separate army on the Rhine. Prince Louis returned to his army on the Danube; Prince Eugene set out for Philipsburgh: the Duke of Marlborough, being joined by the imperial army under Prince Louis of Baden, at Wastertellen, prosecuted his march by Elchingen, Gingen, and Landthausen. On the first day of July he was in sight of the enemy's intrenchments at Dillengen, and encamped with his right at Amerdighem, and his left at Onderingen. Understanding that the Elector of Bavaria had detached the best part of his infantry to reinforce the Count d'Arco, who was posted behind strong lines at Schellenberg, near Donawert, he resolved to attack their intrenchments without delay. On the second day of July he advanced towards the enemy, and passed the river Wermitz: about five o'clock in the afternoon the attack was begun by the English and Dutch infantry, supported by the horse and dragoons. They were very severely handled, and even obliged to give way, when Prince Louis of Baden marching up, at the head of the imperialists, to another part of the line, made a diversion in

He defeats  
the Bava-  
rians at  
Schellen-  
berg.

their favour. After an obstinate resistance they forced his intrenchments, and the horse entering with the infantry, fell so furiously upon the enemy, already disordered, that they were routed with great slaughter. They fled with the utmost trepidation to Donawert and the Danube, leaving six thousand men dead on the field of battle. The confederates took sixteen pieces of cannon, thirteen pair of colours, with all the tents and baggage. Yet the victory was dearly purchased: some thousands of the allies were slain in the attack, including many gallant officers, among whom were the Generals Goor and Beinhelm, and Count Stirum was mortally wounded. Next day the Bavarian garrison abandoned Donawert, of which the confederates took immediate possession, while the elector passed the Danube in his march to the river Leche, lest the victors should cut off his retreat to his own country. The confederates having crossed the Danube on several bridges of pontoons, a detachment was sent to pass the Leche, and take post in the country of the elector, who had retired under the cannon of Augsburgh. The garrison of Neuburgh retiring to Ingoldstadt, the place was secured by the confederates; and the Count de Frize was detached with nine battalions and fifteen squadrons to invest the town of Rain. Advice arriving from Prince Eugene that the Mareschals Villeroy and Tallard had passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl, with an army of five-and-forty thousand men, to succour the Elector of Bavaria, the generals of the allies immediately detached Prince Maximilian of Hanover with thirty squadrons of horse, as a reinforcement to the prince. In a few days Rain surrendered, and Aicha was taken by assault. The emperor no sooner received a confirmation of the victory of Schellenberg, than he wrote a letter of acknowledgment to the Duke of Marlborough, and ordered Count Wratislau to intimate his intention of investing him with the title of prince of the empire, which the duke declined accepting, until the queen interposed her authority at the desire of Leopold.

The allies advanced within a league of Augsburgh, and though they found the Elector of Bavaria too securely posted under the cannon of that city to be dislodged or attacked with any prospect of success, they encamped with Friedburgh in their centre, so as to cut off all communication between him and his dominions. The Duke of Marlborough, having reduced him

Fruitless  
negotiation  
with the  
Elector of  
Bavaria.

to this situation, proposed very advantageous terms of peace, provided he would abandon the French interest, and join the imperialists in Italy. His subjects, seeing themselves at the mercy of the allies, pressed him to comply with these offers, rather than expose his country to ruin and desolation. A negotiation was begun, and he seemed ready to sign the articles, when, hearing that Mareschal Tallard had passed the Black Forest, to join him with a great body of forces, he declared, that since the King of France had made such powerful efforts to support him, he thought himself obliged in honour to continue firm in the alliance. The generals of the allies were so exasperated at this disappointment, that they sent out detachments to ravage the country of Bavaria, as far as Munich: upwards of three hundred towns, villages, and castles, were inhumanly destroyed, to the indelible disgrace of those who countenanced and conducted such barbarous practices. The elector, shocked at these brutal proceedings, desired, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, that a stop might be put to acts of violence so opposite to true glory. The answer he received implied, that it was in his own power to put an end to them by a speedy accommodation. Incensed at this reply, he declared, that since they had obliged him to draw the sword, he would throw away the scabbard. The duke and Prince Louis, finding it impossible to attack the elector in his strong camp, resolved to undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, and for that purpose passed the Paer near the town of Schrobbsenhausen, where they encamped, with their left at Closterburgh. On the fifth day of August the Elector of Bavaria marched to Biberach, where he was joined by Tallard. He resolved to pass the Danube at Lawingen, to attack Prince Eugene, who had followed the French army from the lines of Biehl, and lay encamped at Hochstadt. Next day, however, he made a motion that disappointed the enemy. Nevertheless, they persisted in their design of passing the Danube, and encamping at Blenheim. The allies resolved that Prince Louis should undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt, whilst Prince Eugene and the duke should observe the Elector of Bavaria. Advice being received, that he had actually crossed the Danube at Lawingen, the Duke of Marlborough joined the forces of Prince Eugene at the camp of Munster on the eleventh day of August, Prince Louis having by this time marched off towards the place he intended to besiege. Next

day the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene observed the posture of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on a hill near Hochstadt, their right being covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, their left by the village of Lutzingen, and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the generals resolved to attack them immediately, rather than lie inactive until their forage and provisions should be consumed. They were, moreover, stimulated to this hazardous enterprise by an intercepted letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Mareschal Villeroy, giving him to understand that he had received orders to ravage the country of Wirtemberg, and intercept all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the forces advanced into the plain on the thirteenth day of August, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued on both sides till one in the afternoon. The French and Bavarians amounted to about sixty thousand men. Mareschal Tallard commanded on the right, and posted seven-and-twenty battalions, with twelve squadrons, in the village of Blenheim, supposing that there the allies would make their chief effort; their left was conducted by the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin, a French general of experience and capacity. The number of the confederates did not exceed five-and-fifty thousand: their right was under the direction of Prince Eugene, and their left commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. At noon the action was begun by a body of English and Hessians under Major-General Wilkes, who, having passed the rivulet with difficulty, and filed off to the left in the face of the enemy, attacked the village of Blenheim with great vigour; but were repulsed after three successive attempts. Meanwhile the troops in the centre, and part of the right wing, passed the rivulet on planks in different places; and formed on the other side without any molestation from the enemy. At length, however, they were charged by the French horse with such impetuosity, and so terribly galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, that they fell in disorder, and part of them repassed the rivulet; but a reinforcement of dragoons coming up, the French cavalry were broken in their turn, and driven

The confederates obtain a complete victory at Hochstadt.

to the very edges of the village of Blenheim. The left wing of the confederates, being now completely formed, ascended the hill in a firm compacted body, charging the enemy's horse, which could no longer stand their ground, but rallied several times as they gave way. Tallard, in order to make a vigorous effort, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals of his cavalry. The duke, perceiving his design, sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain his horse. Nevertheless, the line was a little disordered by the prodigious fire from the French infantry, and even obliged to recoil about sixty paces; but the confederates, advancing to the charge with redoubled ardour, routed the French horse; and their battalions, being thus abandoned, were cut in pieces. Tallard, having rallied his broken cavalry behind some tents that were still standing, resolved to draw off the troops he had posted in the village of Blenheim, and sent an aid-du-camp to Marsin, who was with the Elector of Bavaria on the left, to desire he would face the confederates with some troops to the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them in play, and favour the retreat of the forces from Blenheim. That officer assured him, he was so far from being in a condition to spare troops, that he could hardly maintain his ground. The fate of the day was now more than half decided. The French cavalry, being vigorously attacked in flank, were totally defeated. Part of them endeavoured to gain the bridge which they had thrown over the Danube between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but they were so closely pursued, that those who escaped the slaughter threw themselves into the river, where they perished. Tallard, being surrounded, was taken near a mill behind the village of Sonderen, together with the Marquis de Montperouz, general of horse, the Major-Generals de Seppeville, de Silly, de la Valiere, and many other officers of distinction. Whilst these occurrences passed on the left wing, Marsin's quarters at the village of Oberklau, in the centre, were attacked by ten battalions, under the Prince of Holsteinbeck, who passed the rivulet with undaunted resolution; but, before he could form his men on the other side, he was overpowered by numbers, mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. His battalions, being supported by some Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, renewed the charge, and were again repulsed: at length the Duke of Marlborough in person brought up some fresh squadrons from the body of reserve, and com-

elled the enemy to retire. By this time Prince Eugene had obliged the left wing of the enemy to give ground, after having surmounted a great number of difficulties, sustained a very obstinate opposition, and seen his cavalry, in which his chief strength seemed to lie, three times repulsed. The Duke of Marlborough had no sooner defeated the right wing, than he made a disposition to reinforce the prince, when he understood from an *aid-du-camp* that his highness had no occasion for assistance; and that the elector, with Monsieur de Marsin, had abandoned Oberklau and Lutzengen. They were pursued as far as the villages of Morselingen and Teissenhoven, from whence they retreated to Dillingen and Lawingen. The confederates, being now masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, in which, as we have already observed, seven-and-twenty battalions and twelve squadrons were posted. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of their army, and despairing of being able to force their way through the allies, capitulated about eight in the evening, laid down their arms, delivered their colours and standards, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition that the officers should not be rifled. This was one of the most glorious and complete victories that ever was obtained. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle: the greater part of thirty squadrons of horse and dragoons perished in the river Danube: thirteen thousand were made prisoners: one hundred pieces of cannon were taken, with twenty-four mortars, one hundred and twenty-nine colours, one hundred and seventy-one standards, seventeen pair of kettledrums, three thousand six hundred tents, four-and-thirty coaches, three hundred laden mules, two bridges of boats, fifteen pontoons, fifteen barrels and eight casks filled with silver. Of the allies, about four thousand five hundred men were killed, and about eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by Mareschal Tallard; namely, his weakening the centre, by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and his suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. Certain it is, these circumstances contributed to the success of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest of the fire with the calmest intrepidity, giving his orders with that presence of mind and deliberation which were so peculiar to



his character. When he next day visited Tallard, he told that general, he was sorry such a misfortune should happen personally to one for whom he had a profound esteem. The mareschal congratulated him on having vanquished the best troops in the world; a compliment to which the duke replied, that he thought his own the best troops in the world, seeing they had conquered those upon whom the mareschal had bestowed such an encomium.

The victorious generals, having by this decisive stroke saved the house of Austria from entire ruin, and entirely changed the face of affairs in the empire, <sup>Siege of Landau.</sup> signified their opinion to Prince Louis of Baden, that it would be for the advantage of the common cause to join all their forces, and drive the French out of Germany, rather than lose time at the siege of Ingoldstadt, which would surrender of course. This opinion was confirmed by the conduct of the French garrison at Augsburg, who quitted that place on the sixteenth day of August. The magistrates sent a deputation craving the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith ordered a detachment to take possession of that important city. The Duke, having sent Mareschal de Tallard under a guard of dragoons to Franckfort, and disposed of the other prisoners of distinction in the adjacent places, encamped at Seffingen, within half a league of Ulm. Here he held a conference with the Princes Eugene and Louis of Baden, in which they agreed, that as the enemy retreated towards the Rhine, the confederate army should take the same route, excepting three-and-twenty battalions and some squadrons, to be left for the siege of Ulm, under General Thungen. They began their march on the twenty-sixth day of August, by different routes, to the general rendezvous at Bruschal, near Philipsburgh. Then they resolved, that Prince Louis of Baden should undertake the siege of Landau, in order to secure the circle of Suabia from the incursions of that garrison. Considering the consternation that prevailed all over France, nothing could be more impolitic than this measure, which gave the enemy time for recollection, and recruiting their forces. It was a proposal on which the Prince of Baden insisted with uncommon obstinacy. He was even suspected of corruption. He was jealous of the glory which the Duke of Marlborough had acquired, and such a bigoted papist, that he repined at the success of an heretical general. On the twelfth day of

September he marched towards Landau with the troops destined for the siege, and the Duke of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, encamped at Croon Weissenburgh, to cover the enterprise. By this time Ulm had surrendered to Thungen even before the trenches were opened. Villeroy advanced with his army towards Landau, as if he had intended to attack the confederates; but retired without having made any attempt for the relief of the place, which was defended with the most obstinate valour till the twenty-third day of November, when the besiegers having lodged themselves on the counterscarp, the breaches being practicable, and the dispositions made for a general assault, the garrison capitulated upon honourable conditions. The King of the Romans had arrived in the camp, that he might have the credit of taking the place, the command of which he bestowed on the Count de Frize, who had before defended it with equal courage and ability.

The next enterprise which the confederates undertook was the siege of Traerbach. The hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, being entrusted with the direction of the attacks, invested the castle in the beginning of November. Though it was strongly fortified and well defended, he carried on his operations with such spirit and assiduity, that in about six weeks the garrison surrendered the place on honourable terms. In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, where he negotiated for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians, to serve under Prince Eugene in Italy during the next campaign. Thence he proceeded to the court of Hanover, where, as in all other places, he was received with particular marks of distinction. When he arrived at the Hague, he was congratulated by the States-General on his victories at Schellenberg and Blenheim, and as much considered in Holland as if he had been actually stadtholder. He had received a second letter from the emperor, couched in the warmest terms of acknowledgment, and was declared prince of the empire. In December he embarked for England, where he found the people in a transport of joy, and was welcomed as a hero who had retrieved the glory of the nation.

In Flanders, nothing of moment was executed, except the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by Baron Spaar, with nine thousand Dutch troops; and two attempts upon

the French lines, which were actually penetrated by Auverquerque, though he was not able to maintain the footing he had gained. The Elector of Bavaria, who had retired to Brussels after his defeat, formed a scheme for surprising the Dutch general at the end of the campaign, and assembled all his troops at Tirlemont; but the French court, apprehensive of his temerity, sent Villeroy to watch his conduct, and prevent his hazarding an engagement, except with a fair prospect of advantage. The *mareschal*, finding him determined to give battle at all events, represented the improbability of succeeding against an enemy so advantageously posted, and the ill consequences of a repulse; but, finding the elector deaf to all his remonstrances, he flatly refused to march, and produced the king's order to avoid an engagement. In Italy the French met with no opposition. The Duke of Savoy, being unable to face the enemy in the field, was obliged to lie inactive. He saw the Duke de Vendome reduce Vercelli and Ivrea, and undertake the siege of Verac, while he posted his little army on the other side of the Po, at Crescentino, where he had a bridge of communication, by which he supplied the place occasionally with fresh troops and provisions. The place held out five months, against all the efforts of the French general: at length, the communication being cut off, the Duke of Savoy retired to Chivas. He bore his misfortunes with great equanimity, and told the English minister, that, though he was abandoned by the allies, he would never abandon himself. The emperor had neglected Italy, that he might act with more vigour against Ragotski and the Hungarian malecontents, over whom he obtained several advantages: notwithstanding which they continued formidable, from their number, bravery, and resolution. The ministers of the allies pressed Leopold to enter into a negotiation for a peace with those rebels, and conferences were opened; but he was not sincerely disposed to an accommodation, and Ragotski aimed at the principality of Transylvania, which the court of Vienna would not easily relinquish. The emperor was not a little alarmed by a revolution at the Ottoman Porte, until the new sultan despatched a chiaus to Vienna with an assurance that he would give no assistance to the malecontents of Hungary. In Poland, the diet being assembled by the cardinal-primate, Stanislaus Lezinski, Palatine of Posnania, was elected and proclaimed king, and

recognized by Charles of Sweden, who still maintained his army by contributions in that country, more intent upon the reign of Augustus than upon the preservation of his own dominions; for he paid no regard to the progress of the Muscovites, who had ravaged Livonia, reduced Narva, and made incursions into Sweden. Augustus retreated into his Saxon dominions, which he impoverished in order to raise a great army, with which he might return to Poland; the pope espoused the interest of this new convert so far as to cite the cardinal-primate to appear at Rome, and give an account of the share he had in the Polish troubles. The Protestants of the Cevennois, deriving courage from despair, became so troublesome to the government of France, that Louis was obliged to treat them with lenity: he sent Mareschal Villars against them with a fresh reinforcement; but at the same time furnished him with instructions to treat for an accommodation. This officer immediately commenced a negotiation with Cavalier, the chief of the revolvers; and a formal treaty was concluded, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience; but these articles were very ill observed by the French ministry.

In Portugal, the interest of King Charles wore a very melancholy aspect. When he arrived at Lisbon, he Campaign in Portugal. found no preparations made for opening the campaign. The Portuguese ministry favoured the French in secret; the people were averse to heretics; the Duke of Schomberg was on ill terms with Fagel, the Dutch general: the Portuguese forces consisted of raw undisciplined peasants; and the French ambassador had bought up the best horses in the kingdom, so that the troopers could not be properly mounted. The King of Portugal had promised to enter Spain with Charles by the middle of May; but he was not ready till the beginning of June, when they reached Santarem. By this time they had published their respective manifestoes; Charles displaying his title to the crown of Spain, and promising pardon to all his subjects who should in three months join his army; and the King of Portugal declaring, that his sole aim in taking up arms was to restore the liberty of the Spanish nation, oppressed by the power of France, as well as to assert the right of Charles to that monarchy. The present possessor, whom they mentioned by the name of the Duke of Anjou, had already anticipated their invasion. His general, the Duke of Berwick, entering

Portugal, took the town of Segura by stratagem. The governor of Salvaterra surrendered at discretion : Cebreros was reduced without much opposition : Zebredo was abandoned by the inhabitants ; and the town of Lhana la Viella was taken by assault. Portugal was at the same time invaded in different parts by the Marquis de Jeoffreville, Prince Tserclaes de Tilly, and the Marquis de Villadarias. Two Dutch battalions were attacked and taken by the Duke of Berwick at Sodreira Formosa. Then he passed the Tagus, and joined Prince Tserclaes. King Philip, arriving in the army, invested Portalegre ; and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot, commanded by Colonel Stanhope, were made prisoners of war. The next place he besieged was Castle Davide, which met with the same fate. On the other hand, the Marquis das Minas, in order to make a diversion, entered Spain with fifteen thousand men, took Fuente Grimaldo, in Castile, by assault, defeated a body of French and Spaniards commanded by Don Ronquillo, and made himself master of Manseinto. The weather growing excessively hot, Philip sent his troops into quarters of refreshment ; and the allies followed his example. Duke Schomberg, finding his advice very little regarded by the Portuguese ministry, and seeing very little prospect of success, desired leave to resign his command, which the queen bestowed upon the Earl of Galway, who, with a reinforcement of English and Dutch troops, arrived at Lisbon on the thirtieth day of July. About the latter end of September, the two kings repaired to the camp near Almeda, resolving to invade Castile ; but they found the river Agueda so well guarded by the Duke of Berwick, that they would not attempt a passage. They therefore retired into the territories of Portugal, and the army was put into winter-quarters. The Spaniards were now so weakened, by detachments sent with the Marquis de Villadarias towards Gibraltar, that the Duke of Berwick could not execute any scheme of importance during the remaining part of the campaign.

The arms of England were not less fortunate by sea than they had been upon the Danube. Sir George Rooke, having landed King Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruize off Cape Spartell, under the command of Rear-Admiral Dilkes, who, on the twelfth of March, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound

Sir George  
Rooke takes  
Gibraltar.

from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz. Rooke received orders from the queen to sail to the relief of Nice and Villa Franca, which were threatened with a siege by the Duke de Vendôme: at the same time he was pressed by King Charles to execute a scheme upon Barcelona, projected by the Prince of Hesse d'Armstadt, who declared his opinion, that the Catalonians would declare for the house of Austria, as soon as they should be assured of proper support and protection. The ministry of England, understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, and judging it was destined to act in the Mediterranean, sent out Sir Cloudesley Shovel with a considerable fleet, to watch the motions of the Brest squadron; and he was provided with instructions how to act, in case it should be sailed to the Mediterranean. Meanwhile, Sir George Rooke, in compliance with the entreaties of King Charles, sailed with the transports under his convoy to Barcelona, and on the eighteenth of May appeared before the city. Next day the troops were landed by the Prince of Hesse, to the number of two thousand, and the Dutch ketches bombarded the place; but by this time the governor had secured the chiefs of the Austrian party, and the people exhibiting no marks of attachment to King Charles, the prince re-embarked his soldiers, from an apprehension of their being attacked and overpowered by superior numbers. On the sixteenth day of June, Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered, in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the seventeenth day of July the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison. Thither they sailed, and on the twenty-first day of the month the Prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: then he summoned the governor to surrender, and was answered, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town: perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south mole-head, he commanded Captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The Captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their

pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about a hundred men were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by Captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the Prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

A sufficient garrison being left with his highness, the admiral returned to Tetuan, to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the ninth day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the thirteenth he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga, ready to receive him, to the number of two-and-fifty great ships, and four-and-twenty galleys, under the command of the Count de Tholouse, High Admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of three-and-fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal, and altogether unprovided of galleys, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning the battle began, with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way; nevertheless, the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifting before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage; for two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the Count de Tholouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either; but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English. Over and above the disadvantages we have enumerated, the bottoms of the British fleet were foul, and several large ships had expended all their shot long before the battle ceased; yet the enemy were so roughly handled, that they did not venture another engagement during the whole war. The French

king, in order to raise the drooping spirits of his people, claimed the victory, and published an account of the action, which, at this distance of time, plainly proves that he was reduced to the mean shift of imposing upon his subjects by false and partial representations. Among other exaggerations in this detail, we find mention made of mischief done to French ships by English bombs: though nothing is more certain than that there was not one bomb vessel in the combined fleet. The French academy, actuated by a servile spirit of adulation, caused a medal to be struck on the occasion, which, instead of perpetuating the glory of their prince, served only to transmit their own shame to posterity. After the battle, Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the twenty-fourth day of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with those marks of esteem and veneration which were due to his long services and signal success; but he was still persecuted with a spirit of envy and detraction. Philip, King of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the Marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months, during which the Prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability. The place was supplied with men and provisions by convoys from Lisbon, until Monsieur de Pointis put a stop to that communication, by entering the bay with a strong squadron, but he was obliged to retire at the approach of Sir John Leake and Admiral Vanderdussen; and the Marquis de Villadarias, having made little or no progress on land, thought proper to abandon the enterprise.

The Parliament of England meeting on the twenty-ninth day of October, the queen, in her speech, observed, that the great and remarkable success with which God had blessed her arms produced unanimous joy and satisfaction through all parts of the kingdom; and that a timely improvement of the present advantages would enable her to procure a lasting foundation of security for England, as well as a firm support for the liberty of Europe. She declared her intention was to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects. She expressed her hope that they would do nothing to endanger the loss of this opportunity; and that there would be no contention among them, but an emulation to promote the public welfare. Congratulatory.

Session of  
Parliament  
in England.



addresses were voted and presented by both Houses. They were equal in their professions of duty and affection to the queen; but the addresses imbibed a very different colour from the different factions by which the two Houses were influenced. The Lords congratulated her on the great and glorious success of her arms under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, without deigning to mention Sir George Rooke, who had defeated the French navy at sea, and added the important fortress of Gibraltar to the British conquests. On the other hand, the Commons affected to mention the battle of Blenheim, and Rooke's naval victory, as events of equal glory and importance. However they might be warped by prejudice against individuals, they did not suffer the war to languish for want of supplies. Having taken into consideration the services of the army and navy, they voted that the queen should be desired to bestow her bounty on the seamen and land-forces who had behaved themselves so gallantly. Then they deliberated upon the different articles of national expense, and granted four millions six hundred and seventy thousand nine hundred and thirty-one pounds for the occasions of the ensuing year, to be raised by a land-tax, by the sale of annuities, and other expedients. These measures were taken with such expedition, that the land-tax received the royal assent on the ninth day of December; when the queen, in a short speech, thanked the Commons for their despatch, which she considered a sure pledge of their affection.

The high-church party took this occasion to promote the bill against occasional conformity, which was revived and brought into the House on a new model, by Mr. William Bromley, who moved, that it might be tacked to the land-tax bill, and sent up to the Lords for their concurrence. The court no longer espoused this measure, and the violent party was weakened by defection. After a warm and tedious debate, the tack was rejected by a great majority. The bill, however, passed the House of Commons and was sent up to the Lords on the fourteenth day of December, when it would hardly have excited a debate, had not the queen been present, and desirous of hearing what could be said on both sides of the question. For the information and satisfaction of her majesty the subject was again discussed, and all the arguments being repeated, the bill was rejected by a majority of one-and-twenty voices.

An act of  
alienation  
passed  
against the  
Scots.

The next subject on which the House of Lords employed their attention was the late conduct of the Scottish Parliament. The Lord Haversham in a set speech observed, that the settlement of the succession in Scotland had been postponed, partly because the ministry for that kingdom were weak and divided; partly from a received opinion that the succession was never sincerely and cordially intended by those who managed the affairs of Scotland in the cabinet council. He expatiated on the bad consequences that might attend the act of security, which he styled a bill of exclusion; and particularly mentioned that clause by which the heritors and boroughs were ordained to exercise their fencible men every month. He said the nobility and gentry of Scotland were as learned and brave as any nation in Europe, and generally discontented; that the common people were very numerous, very stout, and very poor; and he asked who was the man that could tell what such a multitude, so armed, and so disciplined, might do under such leaders, could opportunities suit their intention. He recommended these circumstances to the consideration of the House, and concluded with these words of Lord Bacon: "Let men beware how they neglect or suffer matter of troubles to be prepared; for no man can forbid the sparks that may set all on fire." The Lords resolved to consider these subjects on the twenty-ninth day of November, when the queen repaired to the House of Peers to hear the debates, and by her presence moderate the heat of both parties. The Earl of Nottingham reflected so severely on the memory of King William, that he would have been sent to the Tower, had not the Lords declined any such motion, out of respect to her majesty. After much declamation on the Scottish act of security, the grand committee of the Peers, by the advice of Lord Wharton, resolved that the queen should be enabled, by act of Parliament on the part of England, to name commissioners to treat about an union with Scotland, provided that the Parliament of Scotland should first appoint commissioners on their part for the same purpose: that no Scotsmen should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, except such as were settled in England, Ireland, and the plantations, and such as were or might be in the sea or land service, until an union could be effected, or the succession settled as in England: that the traffic by cattle from Scotland to England should be prevented: that the lord admiral should issue

orders for taking such vessels as should be found trading from Scotland to France, or to the ports of any of her majesty's enemies; and that care should be taken to prevent the exportation of English wool into Scotland. On these resolutions a bill was formed for an entire union, and passed the House on the twentieth day of December. The Lords presented an address to the queen, representing that they had duly weighed the dangerous and pernicious effects that were likely to be produced by divers acts of Parliament lately passed in Scotland; that they were of opinion the safety of the kingdom required that speedy and effectual orders should be given to put Newcastle in a posture of defence, to secure the port of Tinmouth, and repair the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. They likewise advised her majesty to give directions for disciplining the militia of the four northern counties; for providing them with arms and ammunition; for maintaining a competent number of regular troops on the northern borders of England, as well as in the north of Ireland; and for putting the laws in execution against Papists. The queen promised that a survey should be made of the places they had mentioned, and laid before the Parliament; and that she would give the necessary directions upon the other articles of the address. The Commons seemed to concur with the Lords in their sentiments of the Scottish act of security. They resolved, that a bill should be brought in for the effectual securing the kingdom of England from the apparent dangers that might arise from several acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland: and this was formed on nearly the same resolutions which had been taken in the Upper House. The bill sent down by the Lords was thrice read, and ordered to lie upon the table: but they passed their own, to take effect at Christmas, provided before that time the Scots should not settle the succession. When it was offered to the Lords, they passed it without any amendment, contrary to the expectation and even to the hope of some members who were no friends to the house of Hanover, and firmly believed the Lords would have treated this bill with the same contempt which had been manifested for that which they had sent down to the Commons.

The Duke of Marlborough, at his first appearance in the House after his return to England, was honoured with a very extraordinary eulogium, pronounced by the lord-keeper,

in the name of the Peers of England; and a compliment of the same nature was presented to him by a committee of the House of Commons. Doctor Delaune, Vice-chancellor of Oxford, accompanied by the principal members of the university, attended the queen with an address of congratulation upon the success of her arms in Germany, under the admirable conduct and invincible courage of the Duke of Marlborough; and at sea, under the most brave and faithful Admiral Sir George Rooke. He received a civil answer from her majesty, though now she took umbrage at Rooke's being raised upon a level with the Duke of Marlborough, whose great victories had captivated her admiration, and whose wife had alienated her affection from the Tories. The Commons, perceiving how high he stood in her majesty's esteem, and having been properly tutored for the purpose, took into consideration the great services of the duke; and, in an address, besought her majesty to consider some proper means to perpetuate the memory of such noble actions. In a few days she gave them to understand by a message, that she was inclined to grant the interest of the crown in the honour and manor of Woodstock and hundred of Wootton to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and that, as the lieutenancy and rangerhip of the parks, with the rents and profits of the manors and hundreds, were granted for two lives, she wished that encumbrance could be removed. A bill was immediately brought in, enabling the queen to bestow these honours and manors on the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs; and the queen was desired to advance the money for clearing the encumbrances. She not only complied with this address, but likewise ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park a magnificent palace for the duke, upon a plan much more solid than beautiful. By this time Sir George Rooke was laid aside, and the command of the fleet bestowed upon Sir Cloudesley Shovel, now declared Rear-Admiral of England. Mareschal de Tallard, with the other French generals taken at Hochstadt, arrived on the sixteenth of December in the river Thames, and were immediately conveyed to Nottingham and Lichfield, attended by a detachment of the royal regiment of horse guards. They were treated with great respect, and allowed the privilege of riding ten miles around the places of their confinement.

While the House of Commons, in two successive addresses,

Manor of Woodstock granted to the Duke of Marlborough.

thanked the queen for the treaty which the Duke of Marlborough had concluded with Prussia, concerning the troops to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, and desired she would use her interest with the allies, that they might next year furnish their complete proportions of men by sea and land; the Lords examined into all the proceedings at sea, and all the instructions of the Admiralty; and presented an address to the queen, explaining all the different articles of mismanagement. She promised to consider them particularly, and give such directions upon them as might be most for the advantage of the public service. The remaining part of the session was consumed in disputes and altercations between the two Houses on the subject of the Aylesbury constables, who were sued by five other inhabitants for having denied them the right of voting at the election. These five persons were committed to Newgate by order of the House of Commons. They moved for a habeas corpus in the King's Bench; but the court would take no cognizance of the affair. Two of the prisoners petitioned the queen that their case might be brought before her Majesty in Parliament. The Commons, in an address, besought the queen to refuse granting a writ of error in this case, which would tend to the overthrowing the undoubted rights and privileges of the Commons of England. She assured them she would not do any thing to give them just cause of complaint; but this matter, relating to the course of judicial proceedings, being of the highest importance, she thought it necessary to weigh and consider very carefully what might be proper for her to do in a thing of so great concern. They voted all the lawyers, who had pleaded on the return of the habeas corpus in behalf of the prisoners, guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered them to be taken into custody. They likewise ordered the prisoners to be removed from Newgate into the custody of their serjeant at arms, lest they should have been discharged by the queen's granting writs of error. The prisoners, finding themselves at the mercy of the exasperated Commons, petitioned the Lords for relief. The Upper House passed six different resolutions against the conduct of the Commons, as being an obstruction to justice, and contrary to Magna Charta. The Lower House demanded a conference, in which they insisted upon the sole right of determining elections; they affirmed, that they only could judge who had a right of voting; and

Disputes  
between the  
two Houses  
on the sub-  
ject of the  
Aylesbury  
constables.

that they were judges of their own privileges, in which the Lords could not intermeddle.

The Upper House demanded a free conference, which proved ineffectual. New resolutions were taken by the Commons, diametrically opposite to those of the Peers, who, on the other hand, attended the queen with a long representation of all the particulars relating to this affair. They affirmed that the proceedings of the House of Commons against the Aylesbury men were wholly new and unprecedented: that it was the birthright of every Englishman, who apprehended himself injured, to seek for redress in her majesty's courts of justice: that if any power could control this right, and prescribe when he should, and when he should not, be allowed the benefit of the laws, he ceased to be a freeman, and his liberty and property were precarious. They requested, therefore, that no consideration whatever should prevail with her majesty to suffer an obstruction to the known course of justice: but that she should be pleased to give effectual orders for the immediate issuing of the writs of error. The queen assured them that she would have complied with their request; but, finding an absolute necessity for putting an immediate end to the session, she knew there could be no further proceedings on that matter. On the very day, which was the fourteenth of March, she went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then she thanked the Parliament for having despatched the public business: she warned them to avoid the fatal effects of animosity and dissension; and ordered the lord-keeper to prorogue them to

Burnet  
Hist. of  
Europe.  
Tindal.  
Hist. of  
the Duke of  
Maribo-  
rough.  
Lockhart.  
Burchet.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.  
Quincy.  
Feuquieres.  
Voltaire.

Thursday the first of May: but on the fifth of April they were dissolved by proclamation, and another was published for calling a new Parliament. The queen, accompanied by the Prince of Denmark, made an excursion to Newmarket, and afterwards dined by invitation with the university of Cambridge, where she conferred the honour of knighthood upon Dr. Ellis, the vice-chancellor; upon James Montague, counsel for the university; and upon the celebrated Isaac Newton, mathematical professor. The two Houses of Convocation still continued at variance. The Lower House penned petulant representations; and the archbishop answered them by verbal reprehension and admonition. The tory interest was now in the

wane. The Duke of Buckinghamshire was deprived of the privy seal, and that office conferred upon the Duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of powerful influence with the whig party. The Earl of Montague was created Marquis of Mounthermer and Duke of Montague; the Earl of Peterborough and Lord Cholmondeley were chosen of the privy council; and Lord Cutts was sent to command the troops in Ireland, under the Duke of Ormond.

The ministry of Scotland was now entirely changed. The Marquis of Tweeddale and Johnstone, having been found unequal to the undertaking, were dismissed. Proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland. The Duke of Queensberry resumed the management of affairs in that kingdom under the title of lord privy seal; and the office of commissioner was conferred upon the young Duke of Argyle, who succeeded to his father's influence among the presbyterians. He was a nobleman possessed of good natural talents, which had not been neglected; candid, open, and sincere; brave, passionate, and aspiring: had he been endued with a greater share of liberality, his character would have been truly heroic. At this juncture he was instructed to procure an act of the Scottish Parliament, settling the Protestant succession; or to set on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms. At the opening of the session in June, the members were divided into three parties, namely, the Cavaliers, or Jacobites, the Revolutioners, the Squadron Volante, or Flying Squadron, headed by the Marquis of Tweeddale, who disclaimed the other two factions, and pretended to act from the dictates of conscience alone. The Parliament was adjourned to the third day of July, when her majesty's letter was read, earnestly recommending the settlement of the succession in the Protestant line, and an act for a commission to treat of an union between the two kingdoms. The Marquis of Annandale proposed that the Parliament should proceed on the limitations and conditions of government; that a committee should be appointed to consider the condition of the coin and the commerce of the nation. The Earl of Mar moved that the House would, preferable to all other business, consider the means for engaging in a treaty with England. After a long debate they resolved to proceed on the coin and the commerce. Schemes for supplying the nation with money by a paper credit were presented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne and John Law, but rejected. The House resolved, that any kind of paper credit,

by the circulation of bills, was an improper expedient; and appointed a council to put the laws relating to trade in execution. The Duke of Hamilton proposed that the Parliament should not proceed to the nomination of a successor until the treaty with England should be discussed, and the limitations settled. This proposal being approved, a draft of an answer to her majesty's letter was presented by the Marquis of Tweeddale. Two different forms of an act for a treaty with England were offered by the Earl of Mar and the Marquis of Lothian: others were produced concerning the elections of officers of state and the regulation of commerce.

The chief aim of the cavaliers was to obstruct the settlement of the succession; and with that view they pressed the project of limitations, to which they knew the court would never assent. A motion being made, to grant the first reading to an act of commission for a treaty with England, the Duke of Hamilton insisted on the limitations, and a vote being stated in these terms, "Proceed to consider the act for a treaty of limitation," the latter was carried in favour of the cavaliers. On the twenty-second day of August an act for this purpose was approved; and next day an act for a triennial Parliament, which the courtiers were enabled to defeat. They likewise passed an act, ordaining, that the Scottish ambassadors representing Scotland should be present, when the sovereign might have occasion to treat with foreign princes and states, and be accountable to the Parliament of Scotland. Fletcher of Saltoun presented a scheme of limitations that savoured strongly of republican principles. He afterwards enlarged upon every article, endeavouring to prove that they were absolutely necessary to prevent the consequences of English influence; to enable the nation to defend its rights and liberties; to deter ministers of state from giving bad advice to their sovereign; to preserve the courts of judicature from corruption, and screen the people from tyranny and oppression. The Earl of Stair having argued against these limitations, Fletcher replied, "It was no wonder he opposed the scheme; for, had such an act subsisted, his lordship would have been hanged for the bad counsel he had given to King James; for the concern he had in the massacre of Glencoe; and for his conduct since the Revolution." The next subject on which the Parliament deliberated was the conspiracy. A motion being made that the House

They pass  
an act for  
a treaty of  
union with  
England.



might know what answer the queen had returned to their address in the last session, the chancellor delivered to the clerk-register the papers relating to the plot, that they might be perused by the members; but these being copies, and the evidences remaining at London, no further progress was made in the affair. Yet the Duke of Athol, in a distinct narrative of the pretended conspiracy, boldly accused the Duke of Queensberry of having endeavoured to mislead the queen by false insinuations against her good subjects. When the act for a treaty of union fell under consideration, a draft for that purpose, presented by the Earl of Mar, was compared with the English act, importing, that the queen should name and appoint not only the commissioners for England, but likewise those for Scotland. Fletcher did not fail to inveigh against the imperious conduct of the English Parliament in this affair. He exhorted the House to resent such treatment, and offered the draft of an address to her majesty on the subject; but this the House rejected. Duke Hamilton proposed that a clause might be added to the act, importing, that the union should no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottish nation. This occasioned a long debate; and the question, being put, was carried in the negative. Another clause was proposed, that the Scottish commissioners should not begin to treat until the English Parliament should have rescinded their clause, enacting, that the subjects of Scotland should be adjudged and taken as aliens after the twenty-fifth day of December. The courtiers, considering the temper of the House, would not venture to oppose this motion directly, but proposed that the clause should be formed into a separate act; and the expedient was approved. Though the Duke of Athol entered a vigorous protest, to which the greater part of the cavaliers and all the squadrone adhered, comprehending four-and-twenty peers, seven-and-thirty barons, and eighteen boroughs, the act for the treaty of union was, after much altercation, finished, empowering commissioners to meet and treat of an union; but restraining them from treating of any alterations of the church government as by law established. Whilst this important subject was under consideration, the Duke of Hamilton, to the amazement of his whole party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left to the queen. Fourteen or fifteen of the cavaliers ran out of the

House in a transport of indignation, exclaiming that they were deserted and basely betrayed by the Duke of Hamilton. A very hot debate ensued, in the course of which the duke was severely handled by those whom he had hitherto conducted; but at length, the question being put, whether the nomination should be left to the queen or to the Parliament, the duke's motion was approved by a very small majority. He afterwards excused himself for his defection by saying he saw it was in vain to contend; and that since the court had acquired a great majority, he thought he might be allowed to pay that compliment to his sovereign. He was desirous of being in the commission, and the Duke of Argyle promised he should be nominated. The queen refusing to honour him with that mark of distinction, Argyle would not suffer himself to be named, and threatened to oppose the union; but means were found to appease his resentment. Two drafts of an address being presented by the Earl of Sutherland and Fletcher of Saltoun, beseeching her majesty to use her endcavours with the Parliament of England to rescind that part of their act which declared the subjects of Scotland aliens; and an overture of a bill being offered, ordaining that the Scottish commissioners should not enter upon the treaty of union until that clause should be repealed: the courtiers moved, that the Parliament should proceed by way of order to their commissioners, and by address to her majesty. After some debate, the House assenting to this proposal, the order and address were drawn up and approved. The great and weighty affair of the treaty being at length happily transacted, though not without a protest by Athol and his adherents, the Parliament granted a supply of fifty thousand pounds, and the House was adjourned to the twentieth day of December: then the queen declared the Earl of Mar secretary of state, in the room of the Marquis of Annandale, who was appointed lord-president of the council.

In Ireland the Parliament met at Dublin on the fifth day of March, and voted one hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the support of the necessary branches of the establishment. A dispute arose between the Commons and the Lower House of Convocation, relating to the tithes of hemp and flax, ascertained in a clause of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of the kingdom. The Lower House

Difference  
between the  
Parliament  
and Convo-  
cation in  
Ireland.

of Convocation presented a memorial against this clause as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The Commons voted the person who brought it in guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered him to be taken into custody. Then they resolved, that the Convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of the privilege of that House. The Convocation presuming to justify their memorial, the Commons voted, that all matters relating to it should be razed out of the journals and books of Convocation. The Duke of Ormond, dreading the consequences of such heats, adjourned the Parliament to the first day of May, when the Houses, meeting again, came to some resolutions that reflected obliquely on the Convocation, as enemies to her majesty's government and the Protestant succession. The clergy, in order to acquit themselves of all suspicion, resolved in their turn, that the Church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by King William at the Revolution: that the continuance of these blessings were due (under God) to the auspicious reign and happy government of her majesty Queen Anne: that the future security and preservation of the Church and nation depended wholly (under God) on the succession of the crown as settled by law in the Protestant line: that if any clergyman should by word or writing declare any thing in opposition to these resolutions, they should look upon him as a sower of divisions among the Protestants, and an enemy to the constitution. They levelled another resolution against the presbyterians, importing, that to teach or to preach against the doctrine, government, rites, or ceremonies of the Church, or to maintain schools or seminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to those of the established Church, was a contempt of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom, of pernicious consequence, and served only to continue and widen the unhappy schisms and divisions in the nation. In June the Parliament was prorogued to the same month of the following year: then the Duke of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the administration in the hands of Sir Richard Cox, lord-chancellor, and Lord Cutts, the commander-in-chief of the queen's forces, who were appointed lords-justices during the duke's absence.

During these transactions in Great Britain and Ireland, the allies had not been remiss in their preparations for the ensuing campaign. The Duke of Marlborough had fixed

upon the Moselle for the scene of action; and magazines of all sorts were formed at Triers. On the thirteenth day of March the duke embarked for Holland, where he prevailed upon the States-General to contribute their troops for the execution of his project. Having concerted with the deputies of the states and the Dutch generals the necessary measures for opening the campaign, he set out for Maestricht, in order to assemble his army. On the fifth day of May the Emperor Leopold died at Vienna, and was succeeded on the imperial throne by his eldest son, Joseph, King of the Romans, a prince who resembled his father in meekness of disposition, narrowness of intellect, and bigotry to the Romish religion. On the fifteenth of June the English troops passed the Maese, and continued their march towards the Moselle, under the command of General Churchill; and the duke set out for Creutznach, to confer with Prince Louis of Baden, who excused himself on pretence of being much indisposed. Marlborough visited him at Rastadt, where in a conference they resolved that a sufficient number of German troops should be left for the security of the lines of Lauterburg and Stolhoffen, under the command of General Thungen, and that Prince Louis of Baden should march with a large detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the Duke of Marlborough. The confederate army passed the Moselle and the Saar in the beginning of June, and encamped at Elft in sight of the enemy, who retired with great precipitation, and intrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of Coningsmacheren. The duke's design was to besiege Saar-Louis; but Prince Louis failed in the performance of his engagement: he feigned himself sick, and repaired to the bath at Schlangenbade, leaving the small number of imperial troops he had conducted as far as Creutznach, under the command of the Count de Frize. He was suspected of treachery; but probably acted from envy of the duke's military reputation.\*

While this nobleman sustained such a mortifying dis-  
The Duke of Marlborough forces the French lines in Brabant. appointment on the Moselle, the French did not fail to make advantage of their superiority in the Netherlands, where General d'Auverquerque was obliged to stand on the defensive. They invested

\* The Duke of Marlborough, finding himself obliged to retreat, sent a note with a trumpeter to Villars, containing an apology for decamping.—“Do me the justice (said he) to believe that my retreat is entirely owing to the failure of the Prince of Baden; but that my esteem for you is still greater than my resentment of his conduct.”

Huy, and carried on their operations so vigorously, that in a few days the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: then Villeroy undertook the reduction of Liege, and actually began his works before the citadel. Marlborough was no sooner informed of the enemy's progress than he marched to Triers, where, in a council, it was resolved that the army should return to the Netherlands. The troops were in motion on the nineteenth of June, and marched with such expedition, that they passed the Maese on the first day of July. Villeroy, having received advice of the duke's approach, abandoned his enterprise, and retired to Tongeren, from whence he retreated within his lines, that reached from Marche aux Dames on the Meuse, along the Mehaigne, as far as Lenuive. Marlborough, having joined D'Auverquerque, sent General Scholten with a detachment to invest Huy, and in a few days the garrison surrendered at discretion. The English general, resolving to strike some stroke of importance that should atone for his disappointment on the Moselle, sent General Hompesch to the states, with a proposal for attacking the French lines, and obtained their permission to do whatever he should think proper for the good of the common cause. Then he explained the scheme in two successive councils of war, by which, at length, it was approved and resolved upon, though some Dutch generals declared themselves against the undertaking. The enemy were posted along the lines, amounting to one hundred battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons. The allied army did not much exceed that number. In order to divide them, D'Auverquerque made a false motion and passed the Mehaigne, as if he had intended to attack the lines about Masselin. The stratagem succeeded. The French weakened the other parts by strengthening that which was on the side of the Gerbise towards Namur. The Duke of Marlborough having made the disposition, the army began to march in the night between the seventeenth and eighteenth of July, in order to force a passage of the French lines at Heylesem, the castle of Wauge, and the villages of Wauge, Neerhespen, and Oostmalen. These posts were taken with very little difficulty; but before the infantry could come up, the enemy advanced with fifty squadrons and twenty battalions, and began to fire from eight pieces of cannon with triple barrels, which did considerable execution. The duke, perceiving that they were continually rein-

forced from the other parts of the lines, ordered the horse to charge their cavalry, which were soon broken and routed; but rallying behind their infantry, interlined with foot, and joined by fresh squadrons, they advanced again towards the allies, who were now sustained by their infantry, and moved forwards to renew the charge. After a warm though short engagement, the enemy's horse were defeated with great slaughter. The infantry, seeing themselves abandoned in the plain, retreated in great disorder between the villages of Heylesem and Golsteden, where they were joined by the rest of their army, and formed again in order of battle. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough ordered all his troops to enter the lines; and extended his right towards the great Geete before Tirlemont, where the enemy had left the battalion of Montluc, which surrendered at discretion. In this action the confederates took the Marquis d'Alegre and the Count de Horne, lieutenant-generals, one major-general, two brigadier-generals, with many other officers, and a great number of common soldiers; a large heap of standards, four colours, one pair of kettle-drums, and ten pieces of cannon. In the action, as the Duke of Marlborough advanced to the charge at the head of several squadrons, a Bavarian officer rode up to attack him sword in hand; but in raising himself on his stirrups to strike with the greater advantage, he fell from his horse, and was immediately slain.

The body of troops commanded by Monsieur d'Alegre being thus defeated, with little or no loss to the confederates, the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroy passed the great Geete and the Deule with great expedition, and took possession of the strong camp at Parck, their left extending to Roose-laer, and their right to Wineslen against the height of Louvain. Next day the Duke of Marlborough, marching through the plain of Parck, took twelve hundred prisoners, who could not keep pace with the rest of the enemy's forces; and in the evening he encamped with the right at the abbey of Vliersbeck, and the left before Bierbeck, under the cannon of Louvain. He detached Lieutenant-General Hencklum, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and Count Oxiensstiern, with a considerable body of forces, to attack some posts on the Deule, which were slenderly guarded. Their advanced guard accordingly passed the river, and repulsed the enemy; but, for want of timely support, they were

He is prevented by the deputies of the states from attacking the French army.

obliged to pass it and retire. On the third of August, Baron Spaar, with a body of Dutch troops, marched to Raboth on the canal of Bruges, forced the French lines at Lovendegen, and took four forts by which they were defended; but receiving advice that the enemy were on their march towards him, he retired to Mildegem, and carried with him several hostages, as security for the payment of the contributions he had raised. On the fifteenth the duke moved from Mildert to Corbais; next day continued his march to Genap, from whence he advanced to Fischermont. On the seventeenth General d'Auverquerque took the post of Waterloo; and next day the confederate army was drawn up in order of battle before the enemy, who extended from Overysche, near the wood of Soignies, to Neerysche, with the little river Ysche in their front, so as to cover Brussels and Louvain. The Duke of Marlborough proposed to attack them immediately, before they could recollect themselves from their consternation; and d'Auverquerque approved of the design; but it was opposed by General Schlagenburg and other Dutch officers, who represented it in such a light to the deputies of the states, that they refused to concur in the execution. The duke, being obliged to relinquish the scheme, wrote an expostulatory letter to the States-General, complaining of their having withdrawn that confidence which they had reposed in him while he acted in Germany. This letter, being published at the Hague, excited murmurs among the people, and the English nation were incensed at the presumption of the deputies, who wrote several letters in their own justification to the States-General; but these had no effect upon the populace, by whom the duke was respected even to a degree of adoration. The states, being apprised of the resentment that prevailed over all England, and that the Earl of Pembroke, lord-president of the council, was appointed as envoy-extraordinary to Holland, with instructions to demand satisfaction, thought proper to anticipate his journey, by making submissions to the duke, and removing Schlagenburg from his command. The confederate army returned to Corbais, from whence it marched to Perwitz, where it encamped. The little town of Sout-Leeuwe, situated in the middle of a morass, and constituting the chief defence of the enemy's lines, being taken by a detachment under the command of Lieutenant-General Dedem, the duke ordered the lines from this place to Wasseigne

to be levelled, and the town of Tirlmont to be dismantled; then passing the Demer, he encamped on the nineteenth day of December at Aerschot. About the latter end of the month he marched to Heventhals; from hence the duke repaired to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the pensionary. In a few days he returned to the army, which, decamping from Heventhals, marched to Clamphout. On the twenty-fourth day of October, the Count de Noyelles invested Santvliet, which surrendered before the end of the month.

At this period the duke, in consequence of pressing letters from the emperor, set out for Vienna, in order to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign, and other measures of importance, in which the concerns of the allies were interested. In his way he was magnificently entertained by the Elector Palatine, and him of Triers, and complimented by the magistracy of Franckfort, where he conferred with Prince Louis of Baden. On the twelfth of November he arrived at Vienna, where he was treated with the highest marks of distinction and cordial friendship by their imperial majesties. His son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, had been sent thither as envoy-extraordinary; and now they conferred together with the emperor and his ministers. They resolved to maintain the war with redoubled vigour. The treaties were renewed, and provision made for the security of the Duke of Savoy. The emperor, in consideration of the duke's signal service to the house of Austria, presented him with a grant of the lordship of Mindelheim, in Suabia, which was now erected into a principality of the Roman empire. In his return with the Earl of Sunderland he visited the courts of Berlin and Hanover, where he was received with that extraordinary respect which was due to his character, and arrived at the Hague on the fourteenth day of December. There he settled the operations of the next campaign with the States-General, who consented to join England in maintaining an additional body of ten thousand men as a reinforcement to the army of Prince Eugene in Italy. While the allies were engaged in the siege of Santvliet, the Elector of Bavaria sent a detachment, under the command of Don Marcello de Grimaldi, to invest Diest, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war.

On the Upper Rhine, Mareschal Villars besieged and took



Homburgh, and passed the Rhine at Strasburgh on the sixth day of August. Prince Louis of Baden, arriving in the camp of the imperialists at Stollhoffen, not only obliged him to retire, but having passed the river, forced the French lines at Hagenau: then he reduced Drusenheim and Hagenau, but attempted no enterprise equal to the number of his army, although the emperor had expostulated with him severely on his conduct, and he had now a fair opportunity of emulating the glory of Marlborough, upon whom he looked with the eyes of an envious rival. In Italy a battle was fought at Casano, between Prince Eugene and the Duke de Vendome, with dubious success. The Duke de Feuillade reduced Chivas, and invested Nice, which, after an obstinate defence, surrendered in December. All the considerable places belonging to the Duke of Savoy were now taken, except Coni and Turin; and his little army was reduced to twelve thousand men, whom he could hardly support. His duchess, his clergy, and his subjects in general, pressed him to submit to the necessity of his affairs; but he adhered to the alliance with surprising fortitude. He withstood the importunities of his duchess, excluded all the bishops and clergy from his councils; and when he had occasion for a confessor, chose a priest occasionally, either from the Dominicans or Franciscans. The campaign in Portugal began with a very promising aspect. The allies invaded Spain by the different frontiers of Beyra and Alentejo. Their army, under the command of the Conde das Galveas, undertook the siege of Valencia d'Alcantara in May, and took it by assault: Albuquerque surrendered upon articles; and then the troops were sent into quarters of refreshment. The Marquis de las Minas, who commanded the Portuguese in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salvaterra, plundered and burned Sarca; but was obliged to retire to Panamacos at the approach of the enemy. Towards the end of September the confederates, being re-assembled, invested Badajoz, by the advice of the Earl of Galway, who lost his right hand by a cannon-ball, and was obliged to be carried off; so that the conduct of the siege was left to General Fagel. He had made considerable progress towards the reduction of the place, when the Mareschal de Thessé found means to throw in a powerful reinforcement; and then the confederates abandoned the enterprise. The war continued to rage

State of the  
war on the  
Upper  
Rhine, in  
Hungary,  
Piedmont,  
Portugal,  
and Poland.

in Hungary with various success. Ragotski, though frequently worsted, appeared still in arms, and ravaged the country, which became a scene of misery and desolation. In Poland the old cardinal-primate owned Stanislaus, but died before the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of Cujavia. In the beginning of the winter, King Augustus had passed through Poland in disguise to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command in Lithuania; and the campaign was protracted through the whole winter season, notwithstanding the severity of the weather in that northern climate. In the spring the Swedish general, Reinchild, obtained a complete victory over the Saxon army, which was either cut in pieces or taken, with their camp, baggage, and artillery: yet the war was not extinguished. The King of Sweden continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of peace, and was become as savage in his manners as brutal in his revenge.

At sea the arms of the allies were generally prosperous. Philip of Spain, being obstinately bent upon retaking Gibraltar, sent Mareschal de Thessé to renew the siege, while de Pointis was ordered to block up the place by sea with his squadron. These French officers carried on the siege with such activity, that the Prince of Hesse despatched an express to Lisbon with a letter, desiring Sir John Leake to sail immediately to his assistance. This admiral, having been reinforced from England by Sir Thomas Dilkes, with five ships of the line and a body of troops, set sail immediately; and on the tenth day of March descried five ships of war hauling out of the bay of Gibraltar. These were commanded by De Pointis in person, to whom the English admiral gave chase. One of them struck, after having made a very slight resistance; and the rest ran ashore to the westward of Marbella, where they were destroyed. The remaining part of the French squadron had been blown from their anchors, and taken shelter in the bay of Malaga; but now they slipped their cables, and made the best of their way to Toulon. The Mareschal de Thessé, in consequence of this disaster, turned the siege of Gibraltar into a blockade, and withdrew the greater part of his forces. While Sir John Leake was employed in this expedition, Sir George Byng, who had been ordered to cruize in soundings for the protection of trade, took a ship of forty guns from the enemy, together

Sir Thomas  
Dilkes de-  
stroys part  
of the  
French  
fleet, and  
relieves  
Gibraltar.

1705.

with twelve privateers and seven vessels richly laden from the West Indies.

But the most eminent achievement of this summer was the reduction of Barcelona, by the celebrated Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who sailed from St. Helen's in the latter end of May with the English fleet, having on board a body of five thousand land-forces; and on the twentieth of June arrived at Lisbon, where they were joined by Sir John Leake and the Dutch Admiral Allemonde. In a council of war, they determined to put to sea with eight-and-forty ships of the line, which should be stationed between Cape Spartel and the bay of Cadiz, in order to prevent the junction of the Toulon and Brest squadrons. The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, arriving from Gibraltar, assured King Charles that the province of Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia were attached to his interest; and his majesty, being weary of Portugal, resolved to accompany the Earl of Peterborough to Barcelona. He accordingly embarked with him on board of the *Ranelagh*, and the fleet sailed on the twenty-eighth day of July, the Earl of Galway having reinforced them with two regiments of English dragoons. At Gibraltar they took on board the English guards, and three old regiments, in lieu of which they left two new-raised battalions. On the eleventh day of August, they anchored in the bay of Altea, where the Earl of Peterborough published a manifesto in the Spanish language, which had such an effect, that all the inhabitants of the place, the neighbouring villages, and adjacent mountains, acknowledged King Charles as their lawful sovereign. They seized the town of Denia for his service; and he sent thither a garrison of four hundred men under the command of Major-General Ramos. On the twenty-second they arrived in the bay of Barcelona: the troops were disembarked to the eastward of the city, where they encamped in a strong situation, and were well received by the country people. King Charles landed amidst the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who threw themselves at his feet, exclaiming, "Long live the king!" and exhibited all the marks of the most extravagant joy. The inhabitants of Barcelona were well affected to the house of Austria, but overawed by a garrison of five thousand men, under the Duke de Popoli, Velasco, and other officers

The Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel reduce Barcelona.

devoted to the interest of King Philip. Considering the strength of such a garrison, and the small number of Dutch and English troops, nothing could appear more desperate and dangerous than the design of besieging the place; yet this was proposed by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who served in the expedition as a volunteer, strongly urged by King Charles, and approved by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel. The city was accordingly invested on one side; but as a previous step to the reduction of it, they resolved to attack the fort of Montjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm, with the loss of the gallant Prince of Hesse, who was shot through the body, and expired in a few hours: then the Earl of Peterborough began to bombard the body of the fort; and a shell, chancing to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and some of the best officers; an accident which struck such a terror into the garrison, that they surrendered without further resistance.

This great point being gained, the English general erected his batteries against the town, with the help of the Miquelets and seamen: the bomb-ketches began to fire with such execution, that in a few days the governor capitulated, and on the fourth day of October King Charles entered in triumph.<sup>b</sup> All the other places in Catalonia declared for him, except Roses; so that the largest and richest province of Spain was conquered with an army scarce double the number of the garrison of Barcelona. King Charles wrote a letter with his own hand to the Queen of England, containing a circumstantial detail of his affairs, the warmest expressions of acknowledgment, and the highest encomiums on her subjects, particularly the Earl of Peterborough. In a council of war it was determined that the

The Earl's  
surprising  
progress in  
Spain.

<sup>b</sup> Voltaire, upon what authority we know not, tells us, that during the capitulation, the German and Catalonian troops found means to climb over the ramparts into the city, and began to commit the most barbarous excesses; the viceroy complained to Peterborough that his soldiers had taken an unfair advantage of the treaty, and were actually employed in burning, plundering, murdering, and violating the inhabitants. The earl replied, "They must then be the troops of the Prince of Hesse: allow me to enter the city with my English forces; I will save it from ruin, oblige the Germans to retire, and march back again to our present situation." The viceroy trusted his honour, and forthwith admitted the earl with his troops. He soon drove out the Germans and Catalonians, after having obliged them to quit the plunder they had taken; and by accident he rescued the Duchess of Popoli from the hands of two brutal soldiers, and delivered her to her husband. Having thus appeased the tumult, and dispelled the horrors of the citizens, he returned to his former station, leaving the inhabitants of Barcelona amazed at such an instance of magnanimity and moderation in a people whom they had been taught to consider as the most savage barbarians.

king and the earl should continue in Catalonia with the land-forces; that Sir Cloudesley Shovel should return to England; that five-and-twenty English and fifteen Dutch ships of war should winter at Lisbon, under the command of Sir John Leake and the Dutch Rear-Admiral Wassenaer; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should remain at Barcelona. Don Francisco de Velasco was transported to Malaga with about a thousand men of his garrison; the rest voluntarily engaged in the service of King Charles, and six other regiments were raised by the states of Catalonia. The Count de Cifuentes, at the head of the Miquelets and Catalans attached to the house of Austria, secured Tàrragona, Tortosa, Lerida, San-Mattheo, Gironne, and other places. Don Raphael Nevat, revolting from Philip with his whole regiment of horse, joined General Ramos at Denia, and made themselves masters of several places of importance in the kingdom of Valencia. Flushed with such unexpected success, they penetrated to the capital of the same name, which they surprised, together with the Marquis de Villa-Garcia, the viceroy, and the archbishop. These advantages, however, were not properly improved. The court of Charles was divided into factions, and so much time lost in disputes, that the enemy sent a body of six thousand men into the kingdom of Valencia, under the command of the Conde de las Torres, who forthwith invested San-Mattheo, guarded by Colonel Jones at the head of five hundred Miquelets. This being a place of great consequence, on account of its situation, the Earl of Peterborough marched thither with one thousand infantry, and two hundred dragoons; and by means of feigned intelligence artfully conveyed to the Conde, induced that general to abandon the siege with precipitation, in the apprehension of being suddenly attacked by a considerable army. Peterborough afterwards took possession of Nules, and purchasing horses at Castillon de la Plana, began to form a body of cavalry, which did good service in the sequel. Having assembled a little army, consisting of ten squadrons of horse and dragoons, and four battalions of regular troops, with about three thousand militia, he marched to Molviedro, which was surrendered to him by the governor, Brigadier Mahoni. Between this officer and the Duke d'Arcos, the Spanish general, he excited such jealousies, by dint of artifices, not altogether justifiable even in war, that the duke was more intent upon

avoiding the supposed treachery of Mahoni than upon interrupting the earl's march to Valencia, where the inhabitants expressed uncommon marks of joy at his arrival. About this period a very obstinate action happened at St. Istevan de Litera, where the Chevalier d'Asfeldt, with nine squadrons of horse and dragoons, and as many battalions of French infantry, attacked Colonel Wills at the head of a small detachment; but this last, being supported by Lieutenant-General Cunningham, who was mortally wounded in the engagement, repulsed the enemy, though three times his number, with the loss of four hundred men killed upon the spot. The troops on both sides fought with the most desperate valour, keeping up their fire until the muzzles of their pieces met, and charging each other at the point of the bayonet. The only misfortune that attended the English arms in the course of this year was the capture of the Baltic fleet homeward-bound, with their convoy of three ships of war, which were taken by the Dunkirk squadron under the command of the Count de St. Paul, though he himself was killed in the engagement. When an account of this advantage was communicated to the French king, he replied with a sigh, "Very well; I wish the ships were safe again in any English port, provided the Count de St. Paul could be restored to life." After the death of the famous Du Bart, this officer was counted the best seaman in France.

The kingdom of England was now wholly engrossed by the election of members for the new Parliament. New Parliament in England. The Tories exerted themselves with great industry, and propagated the cry of the church's being in danger; a cry in which the Jacobites joined with great fervour: but, notwithstanding all their efforts in words and writing, a majority of Whigs was returned: and now the Lord Godolphin, who had hitherto maintained a neutrality, thought proper openly to countenance that faction. By his interest co-operating with the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough, Sir Nathan Wright was deprived of the great seal, which was committed to Mr. William Cowper, with the title of lord keeper. This was a lawyer of good extraction, superior talents, engaging manners, and eminence in his profession. He was staunch to Whig principles, and for many years had been considered as one of their best speakers in the House of Commons. The new Parliament

meeting on the twenty-fifth day of October, a violent contest arose about the choice of a speaker. Mr. Bromley was supported by the tories, and the whigs proposed Mr. John Smith, who was elected by a majority of forty-three voices. The queen in her speech represented the necessity of acting vigorously against France, as a common enemy to the liberties of Europe: she commended the fortitude of the Duke of Savoy, which she said was without example: she told them her intention was to expedite commissions for treating of an union with Scotland: she earnestly recommended an union of minds and affections among her people: she observed, that some persons had endeavoured to foment animosities, and even suggested in print that the established church was in danger: she affirmed that such people were enemies to her and to the kingdom, and meant only to cover designs which they durst not publicly own, by endeavouring to distract the nation with unreasonable and groundless distrusts and jealousies: she declared she would always affectionately support and countenance the church of England, as by law established: that she would inviolably maintain the toleration, that she would promote religion and virtue, encourage trade, and every thing else that might make them a happy and flourishing people.

The majority in both Houses now professed the same principles, and were well disposed to support the queen in all her designs. They first presented the usual addresses, in the warmest terms of duty and affection. Then the Commons drew up a second, assuring her they would, to the utmost of their power, assist her in bringing the treaty of union to a happy conclusion. They desired that the proceedings of the last session of Parliament relating to the union and succession might be laid before the House. The Lords had solicited the same satisfaction; and her majesty promised to comply with their request. The Lower House, having heard and decided in some cases of controverted elections, proceeded to take into consideration the estimates for the service of the ensuing year, and granted the supplies without hesitation. In the House of Lords, while the queen was present, Lord Haversham, at the end of a long speech, in which he reflected upon the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, moved for an address to desire her majesty would invite the presumptive heir to the crown of

Bill for a  
regency in  
case of the  
queen's  
decease.

England to come and reside in the kingdom. This motion was earnestly supported by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester, Nottingham, and Anglesea. They said there was no method so effectual to secure the succession, as that of the successor's being upon the spot, ready to assume and maintain his or her right against any pretender; and they observed, that in former times, when the throne of England was vacant, the first comer had always succeeded in his pretensions. The proposal was vehemently opposed by the whigs, who knew it was disagreeable to the queen, whom they would not venture to disoblige. They argued, that a rivalry between the two courts might produce distractions, and be attended with very ill consequences, and observed, that the Princess Sophia had expressed a full satisfaction in the assurances of the queen, who had promised to maintain her title. The question, being put, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The design of the tories in making this motion was, to bring the other party into disgrace either with the queen or with the people. Their joining in the measure would have given umbrage to their sovereign; and, by opposing it, they ran the risk of incurring the public odium, as enemies to the Protestant succession: but the pretence of the tories was so thin, the nation saw through it; and the sole effect the motion produced was the queen's resentment against the whole party. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, proposed, that provision might be made for maintaining the public quiet in the interval between the queen's decease and the arrival of her successor: the motion was seconded by the lord treasurer; and a bill brought in for the better security of her majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England. By this act a regency was appointed, of the seven persons that should possess the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor or lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord president, lord privy seal, lord high admiral, and the lord chief justice of the Queen's Bench. Their business was to proclaim the next successor through the kingdom of England, and join with a certain number of persons named as regents by the successor, in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, and the minister residentary of Hanover. It was enacted, that these joint regencies should conduct the administration; that the last Parliament, even though dis-



solved, should reassemble, and continue sitting for six months after the decease of her majesty. The bill met with a warm opposition from the tories, and did not pass the Upper House without a protest. It was still further obstructed in the House of Commons even by some of the whig party, who were given to understand that the Princess Sophia had expressed an inclination to reside in England. Exceptions were likewise taken to that clause in the bill, enacting, that the last Parliament should be reassembled. They affirmed that this was inconsistent with part of the act by which the succession was at first settled; for, among other limitations, the Parliament had provided, that when the crown should devolve to the House of Hanover, no man, who had either place or pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons. After tedious disputes and zealous altercations, they agreed that a certain number of offices should be specified as disqualifying places. This self-denying clause, and some other amendments, produced conferences between the two Houses, and at length the bill passed by their mutual assent. Lord Haversham moved for an inquiry into the miscarriages of the last campaign, hoping to find some foundation for censure in the conduct of the Duke of Marlborough; but the proposal was rejected as invidious, and the two Houses presented an address to the queen, desiring she would preserve a good correspondence among all the confederates. They likewise concurred in repealing the act by which the Scots had been alienated, and all the northern counties alarmed with the apprehension of a rupture between the two nations. The Lord Shannon and Brigadier Stanhope arriving with an account of the expedition to Catalonia, the queen communicated the good news in a speech to both Houses, expressing her hope that they would enable her to prosecute the advantages which her arms had acquired. The Commons were so well pleased with the tidings, that they forthwith granted two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for her majesty's proportion of the expense of prosecuting the successes already gained by King Charles III. for the recovery of the monarchy of Spain to the house of Austria. On the fifteenth day of November, the queen gave the royal assent to an act for exhibiting a bill to naturalize the Princess Sophia, and the issue of her body.

These measures being taken, the sixth day of December

was appointed for inquiring into those dangers to which the tories affirmed the church was exposed; and the queen attended in person, to hear the debates on this interesting subject. The Earl of Rochester compared the expressions in the queen's speech at the beginning of the session to the law enacted in the reign of Charles II. denouncing the penalties of treason against those who should call the king a Papist; for which reason, he said, he always thought him of that persuasion. He affirmed that the church's danger arose from the act of security in Scotland, the absence of the successor to the crown, and the practice of occasional conformity. He was answered by Lord Halifax, who, by way of recrimination, observed that King Charles II. was a Roman Catholic, at least his brother declared him a Papist after his death; that his brother and successor was a known Roman Catholic, yet the church thought herself secure; and those patriots who stood up in its defence were discountenanced and punished; nay, when the successor ascended the throne, and the church was apparently in the most imminent danger, by the high commission court and otherwise, the nation was then indeed generally alarmed; and every body knew who sat in that court, and entered deeply into the measures which were then pursued. Compton, Bishop of London, declared that the church was in danger, from profaneness, irreligion, and the licentiousness of the press. He complained that sermons were preached wherein rebellion was countenanced, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged. He alluded to a sermon preached before the lord mayor, by Mr. Hoadly, now Bishop of Winchester. Burnet of Sarum said, the Bishop of London was the last man who ought to complain of that sermon; for if the doctrine it contained was not good, he did not know what defence his lordship could make for his appearing in arms at Nottingham. He affirmed the church would be always subject to profaneness and irreligion, but that they were not now so flagrant as they usually had been: he said, the society set up for reformation in London and other cities had contributed considerably to the suppression of vice: he was sure the corporation for propagating the gospel had done a great deal towards instructing men in religion, by giving great numbers of books in practical divinity; by erecting libraries in country parishes; by sending many able divines to the foreign

Debates in the House of Lords upon the supposed danger to which the church was exposed.

plantations, and founding schools to breed up children in the Christian knowledge ; though to this expense very little had been contributed by those who appeared so wonderfully zealous for the church. The Archbishop of York expressed his apprehension of danger from the increase of dissenters ; particularly from the many academies they had instituted : he moved, that the judges might be consulted with respect to the laws that were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed. Lord Wharton moved that the judges might also be consulted about means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by nonjurors ; in one of which the sons of a noble lord in that House had been educated. To this sarcasm the archbishop replied, that his sons were indeed taught by Mr. Ellis, a sober, virtuous man ; but that, when he refused the oath of abjuration, they were immediately withdrawn from his instructions. Lord Wharton proceeded to declare, that he had carefully perused a pamphlet entitled "The Memorial," which was said to contain a demonstration that the church was in danger ; but all he could learn was, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, were out of place ; that he remembered some of these noblemen sat in the high-commission court, and then made no complaint of the church's being in danger. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, complained of the heat and passion manifested by the gentlemen belonging to the universities, and of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards their bishops. He was seconded by Hough of Lichfield and Coventry, who added, that the inferior clergy calumniated their bishops, as if they were in a plot to destroy the church, and had compounded to be the last of their order. Hooper of Bath and Wells expatiated on the invidious distinction implied in the terms "high church" and "low church." The Duke of Leeds asserted that the church could not be safe without an act against occasional conformity. Lord Somers recapitulated all the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question : he declared his own opinion was, that the nation was happy under a wise and just administration ; that for men to raise groundless jealousies at that juncture could mean no less than an intention to embroil the people at home, and defeat the glorious designs of the allies abroad. The debate being finished, the question was put, whether the church of England was in danger, and carried in the negative by a great majority :

then the House resolved, that the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest or insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. Next day the Commons concurred in this determination, and joined the Lords in an address to the queen, communicating this resolution, beseeching her to take effectual measures for making it public; and also for punishing the authors and spreaders of the seditious and scandalous reports of the church's being in danger. She accordingly issued a proclamation, containing the resolution of the two Houses, and offering a reward for discovering the author of the Memorial of the Church of England, and for apprehending David Edwards, a professed Papist, charged upon oath to be the printer and publisher of that libel.

After a short adjournment, a committee of the Lower House presented the thanks of the Commons to the Duke of Marlborough, for his great services performed to her majesty and the nation in the last campaign, and for his prudent negotiations with her allies. This nobleman was in such credit with the people, that when he proposed a loan of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor, upon a branch of his revenue in Silesia, the money was advanced immediately by the merchants of London. The kingdom was blessed with plenty: the queen was universally beloved: the people in general were zealous for the prosecution of the war: the forces were well paid: the treasury was punctual: and though a great quantity of coin was exported for the maintenance of the war, the paper-currency supplied the deficiency so well, that no murmurs were heard, and the public credit flourished both at home and abroad. All the funds being established, one in particular for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at six and a half per cent., and all the bills having received the royal assent, the queen went to the House of Peers on the nineteenth day of March, where, having thanked both Houses for the repeated instances of their affection which she had received, she prorogued the parliament to the twenty-first day of May following.\* The

The Parliament prorogued. Disputes in the Convocation.

\* Among other bills passed during this session was an act for abridging and reforming some proceedings in the common law and in chancery.

new Convocation, instead of imitating the union and harmony of the Parliament, revived the divisions by which the former had been distracted, and the two Houses seemed to act with more determined rancour against each other. The Upper House having drawn up a warm address of thanks to the queen for her affectionate care of the church, the Lower House refused to concur; nor would they give any reason for their dissent. They prepared another in a different strain, which was rejected by the archbishop. Then they agreed to divers resolutions, asserting their right of having what they offered to the Upper House received by his grace and their lordships. In consequence of this dissension the address was dropped, and a stop put to all further communication between the two Houses. The Dean of Peterborough protested against the irregularities of the Lower House. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her resolution to maintain her supremacy, and the due subordination of presbyters to bishops. She expressed her hope that he and his suffragans would act conformably to her resolution, in which case they might be assured of the continuance of her favour and protection: she required him to impart this declaration to the bishops and clergy, and to prorogue the Convocation to such time as should appear most convenient. When he communicated this letter to the Lower House, the members were not a little confounded; nevertheless, they would not comply with the prorogation, but continued to sit, in defiance of her majesty's pleasure.

Barnet.  
Boyer.  
Lockhart.  
Quincy.  
Hist. of  
Europe.  
Feuquieres.  
Tindal.  
Hist. of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Burchet.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.  
Voltaire.

The eyes of Great Britain were now turned upon a transaction of the utmost consequence to the whole island: namely, the treaty for an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The queen having appointed the commissioners<sup>a</sup> on both sides, they met on the sixteenth day of April, in the

1706.  
Conferences  
opened for a  
treaty of  
union with  
Scotland.

<sup>a</sup> The English commissioners were, Thomas Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; William Cowper, lord keeper of the great seal; John Lord Archbishop of York; Sidney Lord Godolphin, lord high treasurer of England; Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, president of the council; John Duke of Newcastle, keeper of the privy seal; William Duke of Devonshire, steward of the household; Charles Duke of Somerset, master of the horse; Charles Duke of Bolton, Charles Earl of Sunderland, Evelyn Earl of Kingston, Charles Earl of Carlisle, Edward Earl of Oxford, Charles Viscount Townshend, Thomas Lord Wharton, Ralph Lord Grey, John Lord Powlet, John Lord Somers, Charles Lord Halifax; William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington; John Manners, Marquis of Granby; Sir Charles Hedges and Robert Harley, principal secretaries of state; John Smith; Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir John Holt, chief justice of the Queen's Bench; Sir Thomas Trevor, chief justice of the common pleas; Sir Edward Northey, attorney-

council chamber of the Cockpit near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for the conferences. Their commissions being opened and read by the respective secretaries, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord keeper of England, and the lord chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, that all the proposals should be made in writing; and every point, when agreed, reduced to writing: that no points should be obligatory, till all matters should be adjusted in such a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the two Parliaments for their approbation: that a committee should be appointed from each commission, to revise the minutes of what might pass, before they should be inserted in the books by the respective secretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty should be kept secret. The Scots were inclined to a federal union, like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish Parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord keeper proposed that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland should be for ever united into one realm, by the name of Great Britain; that it should be represented by one and the same Parliament; and that the succession of this monarchy, failing of heirs of her majesty's body, should be according to the limitations mentioned in the act of Parliament passed in the reign of King William, entitled "An act for the further limitation of the crown, and the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject." The Scottish commissioners, in order to comply in some measure with the popular clamour of their nation, presented a proposal, implying, that the succession to the crown of Scotland should be established upon the same persons mentioned in the act of King William's reign: that the subjects of Scotland should for ever enjoy all

general; Sir Simon Harcourt, solicitor-general; Sir John Cooke; and Stephen Waller, doctor of laws.—The Scottish commissioners were, James Earl of Seafield, lord chancellor of Scotland; James Duke of Queensberry, lord privy seal; John Earl of Mar, and Hugh Earl of Loudon, principal secretaries of state; John Earl of Sutherland, John Earl of Morton, David Earl of Wemyss, David Earl of Leven, John Earl of Staiz, Archibald Earl of Roseberry, David Earl of Glasgow, Lord Archibald Campbell, Thomas Viscount Duplin, Lord William Ross, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, president of the session; Adam Cockburn of Ormistoun, lord justice clerk; Sir Robert Dundas of Arnistoun, Robert Stuart of Tullicultrie, lords of the session; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the commissioners of the treasury; Sir David Dalrymple, one of her majesty's solicitors; Sir Alexander Ogilvie, receiver-general; Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh; Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill; George Lockhart, of Carnwath; William Morrison, of Preston-grange; Alexander Grant; William Seton, of Pitmidden; John Clerk, of Pennycook; Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Sturt, and Daniel Campbell.

the rights and privileges of the natives in England, and the dominions thereunto belonging; and that the subjects of England should enjoy the like rights and privileges in Scotland: that there should be a free communication and intercourse of trade and navigation between the two kingdoms, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, contrary to the terms of this union, should be repealed. The English commissioners declined entering into any considerations upon these proposals, declaring themselves fully convinced that nothing but an entire union could settle a perfect and lasting friendship between the two kingdoms. The Scots acquiesced in this reply, and both sides proceeded in the treaty, without any other intervening dispute. They were twice visited by the queen, who exhorted them to accelerate the articles of a treaty that would prove so advantageous to both kingdoms. At length they were finished, arranged, and mutually signed, on the twenty-second of July, and next day presented to her majesty, at the palace of St. James's, by the lord keeper in the name of the English commissioners; at the same time a sealed copy of the instrument was likewise delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland; and each made a short oration on the subject, to which the queen returned a very gracious reply. That same day she dictated an order of council, that whoever should be concerned in any discourse or libel, or in laying wagers relating to the union, should be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law.

In this famous treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdom of Great Britain should be vested in the Princess Sophia, and her heirs, according to the acts already passed in the Parliament of England: that the united kingdom should be represented by one and the same Parliament: that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages: that they should have the same allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks; and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations, with respect to commerce and customs: that Scotland should not be charged with the temporary duties on some certain commodities: that the sum of three hundred ninety-eight thousand and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, should be granted to the Scots, as an equivalent for such parts of the customs and excise charged upon that kingdom, in consequence of the union, as would

Substance  
of the  
treaty.

be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the customs and excise of Scotland bore to those of England : that, as the revenues of Scotland might increase, a further equivalent should be allowed for such proportion of the said increase as should be applicable to the payment of the debts of England : that the sum to be paid at present, as well as the moneys arising from the future equivalents, should be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the standard and value of the English coin ; in paying off the capital stock and interest due to the proprietors of the African company, which should be immediately dissolved ; in discharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland ; in promoting and encouraging manufactures and fisheries, under the direction of commissioners to be appointed by her majesty, and accountable to the Parliament of Great Britain : that the laws concerning public right, policy, and civil government, should be the same throughout the whole united kingdom ; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland : that the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union ; subject, nevertheless, to such regulations as should be made by the Parliament of Great Britain : that all heritable offices, superiorities, heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and jurisdictions for life, should be reserved to the owners, as rights and property, in the same manner as then enjoyed by the laws of Scotland : that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland should remain entire after the union : that Scotland should be represented in the Parliament of Great Britain by sixteen peers and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present Parliament of Scotland : that all peers of Scotland, and the successors to their honours and dignities, should, from and after the union, be peers of Great Britain, and should have rank and precedence next and immediately after the English peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union ; and before all peers of Great Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union : that they should be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all privileges of peers, as fully as enjoyed by the peers of England, except the right and privilege of



sitting in the House of Lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting upon the trials of peers ; that the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, the records of Parliament, and all other records, rolls, and registers whatsoever, should still remain as they were, within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland : that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease and be declared void by the respective Parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such is the substance of that treaty of union which was so eagerly courted by the English ministry, and proved so unpalatable to the generality of the Scottish nation.

## CHAPTER IX.

BATTLE OF RAMILLIES, IN WHICH THE FRENCH ARE DEFEATED.—THE SIEGE OF BARCELONA RAISED BY THE ENGLISH FLEET.—PRINCE EUGENE OBTAINS A COMPLETE VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH AT TURIN.—SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL SAILS WITH A REINFORCEMENT TO CHARLES, KING OF SPAIN.—THE KING OF SWEDEN MARCHES INTO SAXONY.—THE FRENCH KING DEMANDS CONFERENCES FOR A PEACE.—MEETING OF THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT.—VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO THE UNION.—THE SCOTS IN GENERAL AVERSE TO THE TREATY—WHICH IS, NEVERTHELESS, CONFIRMED BY THEIR PARLIAMENT.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.—THE COMMONS APPROVE OF THE ARTICLES OF THE UNION.—THE LORDS PASS A BILL FOR THE SECURITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—ARGUMENTS USED AGAINST THE ARTICLES OF THE UNION—WHICH, HOWEVER, ARE CONFIRMED BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT.—THE PARLIAMENT REVIVED BY PROCLAMATION.—THE QUEEN GIVES AUDIENCE TO A MUSCOVITE AMBASSADOR.—PROCEEDINGS IN CONVOCA-TION.—FRANCE THREATENED WITH TOTAL RUIN.—THE ALLIES ARE DEFEATED AT ALMANZA.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT UPON TOULON.—SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL WRECKED ON THE ROCKS OF SCILLY.—WEAKNESS OF THE EMPEROR ON THE UPPER RHINE.—INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE KING OF SWEDEN AND THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—INACTIVE CAMPAIGN IN THE NETHERLANDS.—HARLEY BEGINS TO FORM A PARTY AGAINST THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—THE NATION DISCONTENTED WITH THE WHIG MINISTRY.—MEETING OF THE FIRST BRITISH PARLIAMENT.—INQUIRY INTO THE STATE OF THE WAR IN SPAIN.—GREGG, A CLERK IN THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE, DETECTED IN A CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE FRENCH MINISTRY.—HARLEY RESIGNS HIS EMPLOYMENTS.—THE PRETENDER EMBARKS AT DUNKIRK FOR SCOTLAND.—HIS DESIGN IS DEFEATED.—STATE OF THE NATION AT THAT PERIOD.—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.—THE FRENCH SURPRISE GHENT AND BRUGES.—THEY ARE ROUTED AT OUDENARDE.—THE ALLIES INVEST LIELE.—THEY DEFEAT A LARGE BODY OF FRENCH FORCES AT WYNENDALE.—THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA ATTACKS BRUSSELS.—LIELE SURRENDERED, GHENT TAKEN, AND BRUGES ABANDONED.—CONQUEST OF MINORCA BY GENERAL STANHOPE.—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR.—DEATH OF PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK.—THE NEW PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.—NATURALIZATION BILL.—ACT OF GRACE.—DISPUTES ABOUT THE MUSCOVITE AMBASSADOR COMPROMISED.

WHILE this treaty was on the carpet at home, the allied arms prospered surprisingly in the Netherlands, in Spain, and in Piedmont. The French king had resolved to make very considerable efforts in these countries; and indeed, at the beginning of the campaign, his armies were very formidable. He hoped that, by the reduction of Turin and Barcelona, the war would be extinguished in Italy and Catalonia. He knew he could outnumber any body of forces that Prince Louis of Baden should assemble on the Rhine; and he resolved to reinforce his army in Flanders, so as to be in a condition to act offensively against the Duke of Marlborough. This nobleman repaired to Holland in the latter end of April; and conferred

1706.  
Battle of  
Ramillies,  
in which  
the French  
are de-  
feated.

with the States-General. Then he assembled the army between Borschloen and Groes-Waren, and found it amounted to seventy-four battalions of foot, and one hundred and twenty-three squadrons of horse and dragoons, well furnished with artillery and pontoons. The court of France, having received intelligence that the Danish and Prussian troops had not yet joined the confederates, ordered the Elector of Bavaria and the Mareschal de Villeroy to attack them before the junction could be effected. In pursuance of this order they passed the Deule on the nineteenth day of May, and posted themselves at Tirlemont, being superior in number to the allied army. There they were joined by the horse of the army commanded by Mareschal Marsin, and encamped between Tirlemont and Judoigne. On Whitsunday, early in the morning, the Duke of Marlborough advanced with his army in eight columns towards the village of Ramillies, being by this time joined by the Danes; and he learned that the enemy were in march to give him battle. Next day the French generals, perceiving the confederates so near them, took possession of a strong camp, the right extending to the tomb of Hautemont, on the side of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk; and the village of Ramillies being near their centre. The confederate army was drawn up in order of battle, with the right wing near Foltz on the brook of Yause, and the left by the village of Franquénies, which the enemy had occupied. The duke ordered Lieutenant-General Schultz, with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon, to begin the action, by attacking Ramillies, which was strongly fortified with artillery. At the same time Veldt-Mareschal d'Auverquerque, on the left, commanded Colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry posted among the hedges of Franquénies. Both these orders were successfully executed. The Dutch and Danish horse of the left wing charged with great vigour and intrepidity, but were so roughly handled by the troops of the French king's household, that they began to give way, when the Duke of Marlborough sustained them with the body of reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right, where a morass prevented them from acting. In the mean time, he in person rallied some of the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his own horse falling, he was surrounded by the enemy, and must have been either killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of in-

fantry come seasonably to his relief. When he remounted his horse, the head of Colonel Brienfield, his gentleman of the horse, was carried off by a cannon-ball while he held the duke's stirrup. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French mousquetaires were cut in pieces. All the troops posted in Ramillies were either killed or taken. The rest of the enemy's infantry began to retreat in tolerable order, under cover of the cavalry on their left wing, which formed themselves in three lines between Ossuz and Anderkirk; but the English horse, having found means to pass the rivulet which divided them from the enemy, fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they abandoned their foot, and were terribly slaughtered in the village of Anderkirk. They now gave way on all sides. The horse fled three different ways; but were so closely pursued that very few escaped. The Elector of Bavaria, and the Mareschal de Villeroy, saved themselves with the utmost difficulty. Several waggons of the enemy's vanguard breaking down in a narrow pass, obstructed the way in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed; nor could their troops defile in order. The victorious horse, being informed of this accident, pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms and submitted. The pursuit was followed through Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvaine. In a word, the confederates obtained a complete victory. They took the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours, or standards, six hundred officers, six thousand private soldiers; and about eight thousand were killed or wounded.\* Prince Maximilian and Prince Monbason lost their lives: the Major-Generals Palavicini and Mezieres were taken, together with the Marquises de Bar, de Nonant, and de la Beaume, this last the son of the Mareschal de Tallard, Monsieur de Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxembourg, and many other persons of distinction. The loss of the allies did not exceed three thousand men, including Prince Louis of Hesse, and Mr. Bentinck, who were slain in the engagement. The French generals retired with precipitation to Brussels, while the allies took possession of Louvaine, and next day encamped at Bethlem. The battle of

\* The French impute the loss of this battle to the misconduct of Villeroy, who, it must be owned, made a most wretched disposition. When he returned to Versailles, where he expected to meet with nothing but reproaches, Louis received him without the least mark of displeasure, saying, "Mr. Mareschal, you and I are too old to be fortunate."

Ramillies was attended with the immediate conquest of all Brabant. The cities of Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged King Charles. Ostend, though secured by a strong garrison, was surrendered after a siege of ten days. Menin, esteemed the most finished fortification in the Netherlands, and guarded by six thousand men, met with the same fate. The garrison of Dendermonde surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and Aeth submitted on the same conditions. The French troops were dispirited. The city of Paris was overwhelmed with consternation. Louis affected to bear his misfortunes with calmness and composure; but the constraint had such an effect upon his constitution that his physicians thought it necessary to prescribe frequent bleeding, which he accordingly underwent. At his court no mention was made of military transactions; all was solemn, silent, and reserved.

Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French king might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the sixth day of April, King Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the Count de Thoulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron. The inhabitants, animated by the presence of King Charles, made a vigorous defence; and the garrison was reinforced with some troops from Gironne and other places. But, after the fort of Montjuic was taken, the place was so hard pressed; that Charles ran the utmost risk of falling into the hands of the enemy; for the Earl of Peterborough, who had marched from Valencia with two thousand men, found it impracticable to enter the city. Nevertheless, he maintained his post upon the hills; and with surprising courage and activity kept the besiegers in continual alarm. At length, Sir John Leake sailed from Lisbon with thirty ships of the line; and on the eighth day of May arrived in sight of Barcelona. The French admiral no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than he set sail for Toulon. In three days after his departure, King Philip abandoned the siege, and retired in great disorder, leaving behind his tents, with the sick and wounded. On the side of Portugal, the Duke of Berwick was left with such an inconsiderable force as proved insufficient to defend the frontiers. The Earl of Galway,

The siege of Barcelona raised by the English fleet.

with an army of twenty thousand men, undertook the siege of Alcantara; and in three days the garrison, consisting of four thousand men, were made prisoners of war. Then he marched to Placentia, and advanced as far as the bridge of Almaris; but the Portuguese would penetrate no further until they should know the fate of Barcelona. When they understood the siege was raised, they consented to proceed to Madrid. Philip, guessing their intention, posted to that capital, and sent his queen with all his valuable effects to Burgos, whither he followed her in person, after having destroyed every thing that he could not carry away. About the latter end of June, the Earl of Galway entered the city without resistance; but the Spaniards were extremely mortified to see an army of Portuguese, headed by a heretic, in possession of their capital. King Charles loitered away his time in Barcelona until his competitor recovered his spirits, and received such reinforcements as enabled him to return to Madrid, with an army equal to that commanded by the Earl of Galway. This general made a motion towards Arragon, in order to facilitate his conjunction with Charles, who had set out by the way of Saragossa, where he was acknowledged as sovereign of Arragon and Valencia. In the beginning of August this prince arrived at the Portuguese camp, with a small reinforcement; and in a few days was followed by the Earl of Peterborough, at the head of five hundred dragoons. The two armies were now pretty equal in point of number; but as each expected further reinforcements, neither chose to hazard an engagement. The Earl of Peterborough, who aspired to the chief command, and hated the Prince of Lichtenstein, who enjoyed the confidence of King Charles, retired in disgust; and embarking on board an English ship of war, set sail for Genoa. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthage, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicant by assault, and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the Straits, one squadron was detached to the West Indies, another to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England.

Fortune was not more propitious to the French in Italy than in Flanders. The Duke de Vendome having been recalled to assume the command in Flanders after the battle of Ramillies, the Duke of Orleans was placed at the head of the army in Piedmont, under the tutorage and direction

of the Mareschal de Marsin. They were ordered to besiege Turin, which was accordingly invested in the month of May; and the operations carried on till the beginning of September. Great preparations had been made for this siege. It was not undertaken until the Duke of Savoy had rejected all the offers of the French monarch, which were sufficient to have shaken a prince of less courage and fortitude. The Duke de la Feuillade, having finished the lines of circumvallation and contravallation, sent his quarter-master-general with a trumpet, to offer passports and a guard for the removal of the duchess and her children. The Duke of Savoy replied, that he did not intend to remove his family, and that the mareschal might begin to execute his master's orders whenever he should think fit; but when the siege began with uncommon fury, and the French fired red-hot balls into the place, the two duchesses, with the young prince and princesses, quitted Turin, and retired to Quierasco, from whence they were conducted through many dangers into the territories of Genoa. The duke himself forsook his capital in order to put himself at the head of his cavalry; and was pursued from place to place by five-and-forty squadrons under the command of the Count d'Aubeterre. Notwithstanding the very noble defence which was made by the garrison of Turin, which destroyed fourteen thousand of the enemy during the course of the siege, the defences were almost ruined, their ammunition began to fail, and they had no prospect of relief but from Prince Eugene, who had numberless difficulties to encounter before he could march to their assistance. The Duke of Vendome, before he left Italy, had secured all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio, and formed such lines and intrenchments as he imagined would effectually hinder the imperial general from arriving in time to relieve the city of Turin. But the prince surmounted all opposition; passed four great rivers in despite of the enemy; and reached the neighbourhood of Turin on the thirteenth day of August. There being joined by the Duke of Savoy, he passed the Po between Montcalier and Cavignan. On the fifth day of September they took a convoy of eight hundred loaded mules; next day they passed the Doria, and encamped with the right on the bank of that river before Pianessa, and the left on the Stura before the Veneria. The enemy were intrenched, having the Stura on

Prince Eugene obtains a complete victory over the French at Turin.

their right, the Doria on their left, and the convent of capuchins, called *Notre Dame de la Campagne*, in their centre. When Prince Eugene approached Turin, the Duke of Orleans proposed to march out of the intrenchments and give him battle; and this proposal was seconded by all the general officers, except Marsin, who, finding the duke determined, produced an order from the French king commanding the duke to follow the mareschal's advice. The court of Versailles was now become afraid of hazarding an engagement against those who had so often defeated their armies; and this officer had private instructions to keep within the trenches. On the seventh day of September the confederates marched up to the intrenchments of the French, in eight columns, through a terrible fire from forty pieces of artillery, and were formed in order of battle within half cannon-shot of the enemy. Then they advanced to the attack with surprising resolution, and met with such a warm reception as seemed to stop their progress. Prince Eugene, perceiving this check, drew his sword, and putting himself at the head of the battalions on the left, forced the intrenchments at the first charge. The Duke of Savoy met with the same success in the centre, and on the right near Lucengo. The horse advanced through the intervals of the foot, left for that purpose; and breaking in with vast impetuosity, completed the confusion of the enemy, who were defeated on all hands, and retired with precipitation to the other side of the Po, while the Duke of Savoy entered his capital in triumph. The Duke of Orleans exhibited repeated proofs of the most intrepid courage, and received several wounds in the engagement. Mareschal de Marsin fell into the hands of the victors, his thigh being shattered with a ball, and died in a few hours after the amputation. Of the French army, about five thousand men were slain on the field of battle; a great number of officers, and upwards of seven thousand men, were taken, together with two hundred and fifty-five pieces of cannon, one hundred and eighty mortars, an incredible quantity of ammunition, all the tents and baggage, five thousand beasts of burden, ten thousand horses belonging to thirteen regiments of dragoons, and the mules of the commissary-general, so richly laden, that this part of the booty alone was valued at three millions of livres. The loss of the confederates did not exceed three thousand men killed or disabled in the action, besides about the same number at the



garrison of Turin, which had fallen since the beginning of the siege. This was such a fatal stroke to the interest of Louis, that Madame de Maintenon would not venture to make him fully acquainted with the state of his affairs. He was told that the Duke of Orleans had raised the siege of Turin at the approach of Prince Eugene; but he knew not that his own army was defeated and ruined. The spirits of the French were a little comforted in consequence of an advantage gained about this time by the Count de Medavigrancey, who commanded a body of troops left in the Mantuan territories. He surprised the Prince of Hesse in the neighbourhood of Castiglione, and obliged him to retire to the Adige, with the loss of two thousand men: but this victory was attended with no consequence in their favour. The Duke of Orleans retreated into Dauphiné, while the French garrisons were driven out of every place they occupied in Piedmont and Italy, except Cremona, Valenza, and the castle of Milan, which were blocked up by the confederates.

Over and above these disasters which the French sustained in the course of this campaign, they were miserably alarmed by the project of an invasion from Britain, formed by the Marquis de Guiscard, who, actuated by a family disgust, had abandoned his country, and become a partisan of the confederates. He was declared a lieutenant-general in the emperor's army, and came over to London, after having settled a correspondence with the malecontents in the southern parts of France. He insinuated himself into the friendship of Henry St. John, secretary of war, and other persons of distinction. His scheme of invading France was approved by the British ministry, and he was promoted to the command of a regiment of dragoons destined for that service. About eleven thousand men were embarked under the conduct of Earl Rivers, with a large train of artillery; and the combined squadrons, commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, set sail from Plymouth on the thirteenth day of August. Next day they were forced into Torbay by contrary winds, and there they held a council of war to concert their operations, when they discovered that Guiscard's plan was altogether chimerical, or at least founded upon such slight assurances and conjectures as could not justify their proceeding to execution. An express was immediately despatched to the Admiralty; with the result of

Sir Cloudesley Shovel sails with a reinforcement to Charles, King of Spain.

this council; and in the mean time letters arrived at court from the Earl of Galway, after his retreat from Madrid to Valencia, soliciting succours with the most earnest entreaties. The expedition to France was immediately postponed, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was ordered to make the best of his way for Lisbon, there to take such measures as the state of the war in Spain should render necessary. Guiscard and his officers being set on shore, the fleet sailed with the first fair wind, and towards the latter end of October arrived at Lisbon. On the twenty-eighth day of the next month the King of Portugal died, and his eldest son and successor, being but eighteen years of age, was, even more than his father, influenced by a ministry which had private connexions with the court of Versailles. Nevertheless, Sir Cloudesley Shovel and Earl Rivers, being pressed by letters from King Charles and the Earl of Galway, sailed to their assistance in the beginning of January; and on the twenty-eighth arrived at Alicant, from whence the Earl of Rivers proceeded by land to Valencia, in order to assist at a general council of war. The operations of the ensuing campaign being concerted, and the army joined by the reinforcement from England, Earl Rivers, disliking the country, returned with the admiral to Lisbon.

Poland was at length delivered from the presence of the King of Sweden, who, in the beginning of September, suddenly marched through Lusatia into Saxony. Saxony; and in a little time laid that whole electorate under contribution. Augustus, being thus cut off from all resource, resolved to obtain peace on the Swede's own terms, and engaged in a secret treaty for this purpose. In the mean time the Poles and Muscovites attacked the Swedish forces at Kalish in Great Poland; and by dint of numbers routed them with great slaughter. Notwithstanding this event, Augustus ratified the treaty, by which he acknowledged Stanislaus as true and rightful King of Poland, reserving to himself no more than the empty title of sovereign. The confederates were not a little alarmed to find Charles in the heart of Germany, and the French court did not fail to court his alliance; but he continued on the reserve against all their solicitations. Then they implored his mediation for a peace; and he answered, that he would interpose his good offices, as soon as he should know they would be agreeable to the powers engaged in the grand alliance.

The King  
of Sweden  
marches  
into Saxony.

The pride of Louis was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies. He employed the Elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the Duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the States-General, containing proposals for opening a congress. He had already tampered with the Dutch, in a memorial presented by the Marquis d'Alegre. He likewise besought the pope to interpose in his behalf. He offered to cede either Spain and the West Indies, or Milan, Naples, and Sicily, to King Charles; to give up a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands; and to indemnify the Duke of Savoy for the ravages that had been committed in his dominions. Though his real aim was peace, yet he did not despair of being able to excite such jealousies among the confederates as might shake the basis of their union. His hope was not altogether disappointed. The court of Vienna was so much alarmed at the offers he had made, and the reports circulated by his emissaries, that the emperor resolved to make himself master of Naples before the allies should have it in their power to close with the proposals of France. This was the true motive of his concluding a treaty with Louis in the succeeding winter, by which the Milanese was entirely evacuated, and the French king at liberty to employ those troops in making strong efforts against the confederates in Spain and the Netherlands. The Dutch were intoxicated with success, and their pensionary, Heinsius, entirely influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who found his account in the continuance of the war, which at once gratified his avarice and ambition; for all his great qualities were obscured by the sordid passion of accumulating wealth. During the whole war, the allies never had such an opportunity as they now enjoyed to bridle the power of France effectually, and secure the liberties of the empire; and indeed, if their real design was to establish an equal balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, it could not have been better effected than by dividing the Spanish monarchy between these two potentates. The accession of Spain, with all its appendages, to either, would have destroyed the equilibrium which the allies proposed to establish. But other motives contributed to a continuation of the war. The powers of the confederacy were fired with the ambition of making conquests; and England in particular thought herself entitled to an indemnification for the immense sums

The French king demands conferences for a peace.

she had expended. Animated by these concurring considerations, Queen Anne and the States-General rejected the offers of France; and declared that they would not enter into any negotiation for peace, except in concert with their allies.

The tories of England began to meditate schemes of opposition against the Duke of Marlborough. They looked upon him as a selfish nobleman, who sacrificed the interest of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war for his own private advantage. They saw their country oppressed with an increasing load of taxes, which they apprehended would in a little time become an intolerable burden; and they did not doubt but at this period such terms might be obtained as would fully answer the great purpose of the confederacy. This, indeed, was the prevailing opinion among all the sensible people of the nation who were not particularly interested in the prosecution of the war, either by being connected with the general, or in some shape employed in the management of the finances. The tories were likewise instigated by a party-spirit against Marlborough, who, by means of his wife, was in full possession of the queen's confidence, and openly patronised the whig faction. But the attention of people in general was now turned upon the Scottish Parliament, which took into consideration the treaty of union lately concluded between the commissioners of both kingdoms. On the third day of October, the Duke of Queensberry, as high-commissioner, produced the queen's letter, in which she expressed her hope that the terms of the treaty would be acceptable to her Parliament of Scotland. She said, an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace; it would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations; it would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interests; it would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the Protestant interest every where, and maintain the liberties of Europe. She renewed her assurance of maintaining the government of their church; and told them, that now they had an opportunity of taking such steps as might be necessary for its security after the union. She demanded the necessary supplies. She observed, that the great success with which God Almighty had blessed her arms afforded

Meeting of  
the Scottish  
Parliament.

the near prospect of a happy peace, with which they would enjoy the full advantages of this union: that they had no reason to doubt but the Parliament of England would do all that should be necessary on their part to confirm the union: finally, she recommended calmness and unanimity in deliberating on this great and weighty affair, of such consequence to the whole island of Great Britain.

Hitherto the articles of the union had been industriously concealed from the knowledge of the people: but the treaty being recited in Parliament, and the particulars divulged, such a flame was kindled through the whole nation, as had not appeared since the Restoration. The cavaliers or Jacobites had always foreseen that this union would extinguish all their hopes of a revolution in favour of a pretender. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in Parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce saddled with heavy duties and restrictions, and considered the privilege of trading to the English plantations as a precarious and uncertain prospect of advantage. The barons, or gentlemen, were exasperated at a coalition, by which their Parliament was annihilated, and their credit destroyed. The people in general exclaimed, that the dignity of their crown was betrayed; that the independency of their nation had fallen a sacrifice to treachery and corruption; that whatever conditions might be speciously offered, they could not expect they would be observed by a Parliament in which the English had such a majority. They exaggerated the dangers to which the constitution of their church would be exposed from a bench of bishops, and a Parliament of episcopalians. This consideration alarmed the presbyterian ministers to such a degree, that they employed all their power and credit in wakening the resentment of their hearers against the treaty, which produced an universal ferment among all ranks of people. Even the most rigid puritans joined the cavaliers, in expressing their detestation of the union; and, laying aside their mutual animosities, promised to co-operate in opposing a measure so ignominious and prejudicial to their country. In Parliament the opposition was headed by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and the Marquis of Annandale. The first of these noblemen had wavered so much in his conduct that it is difficult to ascertain his real political principles. He

Violent opposition to the union.

was generally supposed to favour the claim of the pretender ; but he was afraid of embarking too far in his cause, and avoided violent measures in the discussion of this treaty, lest he should incur the resentment of the English Parliament, and forfeit the estate he possessed in that kingdom. Athol was more forward in his professions of attachment to the court of St. Germain's ; but he had less ability, and his zeal was supposed to have been inflamed by resentment against the ministry. The debates upon the different articles of the treaty were carried on with great heat and vivacity ; and many shrewd arguments were used against this scheme of an incorporating union. One member affirmed, that it would furnish a handle to any aspiring prince to overthrow the liberties of all Britain ; for if the Parliament of Scotland could alter, or rather subvert, its constitution, this circumstance might be a precedent for the Parliament of Great Britain to assume the same power : that the representatives for Scotland would, from their poverty, depend upon those who possessed the means of corruption ; and having expressed so little concern for the support of their own constitution, would pay very little regard to that of any other. " What ! (said the Duke of Hamilton) shall we in half an hour give up what our forefathers maintained with their lives and fortunes for many ages ? Are here none of the descendants of those worthy patriots, who defended the liberty of their country against all invaders ; who assisted the great King Robert Bruce to restore the constitution and revenge the falsehood of England, and the usurpation of Baliol ? Where are the Douglasses and Campbells ? Where are the peers, where are the barons, once the bulwark of the nation ? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independency of our country, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the same, and assured of their assistance to support us ? " The Duke of Athol protested against an incorporating union, as contrary to the honour, interest, fundamental laws, and constitution of the kingdom of Scotland, the birthright of the peers, the rights and privileges of the barons and boroughs, and to the claim of right, property, and liberty of the subjects. To this protest nineteen peers and forty-six commoners adhered. The earl mareschal entered a protest, importing, that no person being successor to the crown of England should inherit that of Scotland, without such previous limitations as might secure the honour and

sovereignty of the Scottish crown and kingdom, the frequency and power of Parliament, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence. He was seconded by six-and-forty members. With regard to the third article of the union, stipulating that both kingdoms should be represented by one and the same Parliament, the country-party observed, that by assenting to this expedient, they did in effect sink their own constitution, while that of England underwent no alteration: that in all nations there are fundamentals which no power whatever can alter: that the rights and privileges of Parliament being one of these fundamentals among the Scots, no Parliament, or any other power, could ever legally prohibit the meeting of Parliaments, or deprive any of the three estates of its right of sitting or voting in Parliament, or give up the rights and privileges of Parliament; but that by this treaty the Parliament of Scotland was entirely abrogated, its rights and privileges sacrificed, and those of the English Parliament substituted in their place. They argued, that though the legislative power in Parliament was regulated and determined by a majority of voices, yet the giving up the constitution, with the rights and privileges of the nation, was not subject to suffrage, being founded on dominion and property; and therefore could not be legally surrendered without the consent of every person who had a right to elect and to be represented in Parliament. They affirmed that the obligation laid on the Scottish members to reside so long in London, in attendance on the British Parliament, would drain Scotland of all its money, impoverish the members, and subject them to the temptation of being corrupted. Another protest was entered by the Marquis of Annandale against an incorporating union, as being odious to the people, subversive of the constitution, sovereignty, and claim of right, and threatening ruin to the Church as by law established. Fifty-two members joined in this protestation. Almost every article produced the most inflammatory disputes. The Lord Bellhaven enumerated the mischiefs which would attend the union, in a pathetic speech, that drew tears from the audience, and is at this day looked upon as a prophecy by great part of the Scottish nation. Addresses against the treaty were presented to Parliament by the convention of boroughs, the commissioners of the general assembly, the company trading to Africa and the Indies, as well as from several

shires, stewartries, boroughs, towns, and parishes, in all the different parts of the kingdom, without distinction of whig or tory, episcopalian or presbyterian. The Earl of Buchan for the peers, Lockhart of Carnwath for the barons, Sir Walter Stuart in behalf of the peers, barons, and boroughs, the Earls of Errol and Marischal for themselves, as high-constable and earl-marshal of the kingdom, protested severally against the treaty of union.

While this opposition raged within doors, the resentment of the people rose to transports of fury and revenge. The more rigid presbyterians, known by the name of Cameronians, chose officers, formed themselves into regiments, provided horses, arms, and ammunition, and marching to Dumfries, burned the articles of the union at the Market-cross, justifying their conduct in a public declaration. They made a tender of their attachment to Duke Hamilton, from whom they received encouragement in secret. They reconciled themselves to the episcopalians and the cavaliers; they resolved to take the route to Edinburgh, and dissolve the Parliament; while the Duke of Athol undertook to secure the pass of Stirling with his Highlanders, so as to open the communication between the western and northern parts of the kingdom. Seven or eight thousand men were actually ready to appear in arms at the town of Hamilton, and march directly to Edinburgh, under the duke's command, when that nobleman altered his opinion, and despatched private couriers through the whole country, requiring the people to defer their meeting till further directions. The more sanguine cavaliers accused his grace of treachery; but in all likelihood he was actuated by prudential motives. He alleged, in his own excuse, that the nation was not in a condition to carry on such an enterprise, especially as the English had already detached troops to the border, and might in a few days have wafted over a considerable reinforcement from Holland. During this commotion among the Cameronians, the cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow were filled with tumults. Sir Patrick Johnston, provost of Edinburgh, who had been one of the commissioners for the union, was besieged in his own house by the populace, and would have been torn in pieces, had not the guards dispersed the multitude. The privy-council issued a proclamation against riots, commanding all persons to retire from the streets whenever the drum should beat; ordering the guards to fire upon those who

The Scots  
in general  
averse to  
the treaty.



should disobey this command, and indemnifying them from all prosecution for maiming or slaying the lieges. These guards were placed all round the house in which the Peers and Commons were assembled, and the council received the thanks of the Parliament for having thus provided for their safety. Notwithstanding these precautions of the government, the commissioner was constantly saluted with the curses and imprecations of the people as he passed along; his guards were pelted, and some of his attendants wounded with stones as they sat by him in the coach, so that he was obliged to pass through the streets on full gallop.

Against all this national fury, the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, the Earls of Montrose, Seafield, and Stair, and the other noblemen attached to the union, acted with equal prudence and resolution. They argued strenuously against the objections that were started in the House. They magnified the advantages that would accrue to the kingdom from the privileges of trading to the English plantations, and being protected in their commerce by a powerful navy; as well as from the exclusion of a popish pretender, who they knew was odious to the nation in general. They found means, partly by their promises, and partly by corruption, to bring over the Earls of Roxburgh and Marchmont, with the whole squadron who had been hitherto unpropitious to the court. They disarmed the resentment of the clergy, by promoting an act to be inserted in the union, declaring the presbyterian discipline to be the only government in the church of Scotland, unalterable in all succeeding times, and a fundamental article of the treaty. They soothed the African company with the prospect of being indemnified for the losses they had sustained. They amused individuals with the hope of sharing the rest of the equivalent. They employed emissaries to allay the ferment among the Cameronians, and disunite them from the cavaliers, by canting, praying, and demonstrating the absurdity, sinfulness, and danger of such a coalition. These remonstrances were reinforced by the sum of twenty thousand pounds, which the queen privately lent to the Scottish treasury, and which was now distributed by the ministry in such a manner as might best conduce to the success of the treaty. By these practices they diminished, though they could not silence, the clamour of the people, and obtained a considerable majority in Parliament, which out-voted all opposition.

Which is nevertheless confirmed by their Parliament.

Not but that the Duke of Queensberry at one time despaired of succeeding, and being in continual apprehension for his life, expressed a desire of adjourning the Parliament, until by time and good management he should be able to remove those difficulties that then seemed to be insurmountable. But the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who foresaw that the measure would be entirely lost by delay, and was no judge of the difficulties, insisted upon his proceeding. It was at this period that he remitted the money, and gave directions for having forces ready at a call, both in England and Ireland. At length the Scottish Parliament approved and ratified all the articles of the union, with some small variation. They then prepared an act for regulating the election of the sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to represent Scotland in the British Parliament. This being touched with the sceptre, the three estates proceeded to elect their representatives. The remaining part of the session was employed in making regulations concerning the coin, in examining the accounts of the African company, and providing for the due application of the equivalent, which was scandalously misapplied. On the twenty-fifth day of March the commissioner adjourned the Parliament, after having, in a short speech, taken notice of the honour they had acquired in concluding an affair of such importance to their country. Having thus accomplished the great purpose of the court, he set out for London, in the neighbourhood of which he was met by above forty noblemen in their coaches, and about four hundred gentlemen on horseback. Next day he waited upon the queen at Kensington, from whom he met with a very gracious reception. Perhaps there is not another instance upon record of a ministry's having carried a point of this importance against such a violent torrent of opposition, and contrary to the general sense and inclination of a whole exasperated people. The Scots were persuaded that their trade would be destroyed, their nation oppressed, and their country ruined, in consequence of the union with England; and indeed their opinion was supported by very plausible arguments. The majority of both nations believed that the treaty would produce violent convulsions, or, at best, prove ineffectual. But we now see it has been attended with none of the calamities that were prognosticated; that it quietly took effect, and fully answered all the purposes for which it was intended. Hence we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted,

because they are not seen by those who direct the execution of any great project; and that many schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will yet succeed in the experiment.

The English Parliament assembling on the third day of December, the queen in her speech to both Houses congratulated them on the glorious successes of her arms. She desired the Commons would grant such supplies as might enable her to improve the advantages of this successful campaign. She told them that the treaty of union, as concluded by the commissioners of both kingdoms, was at that time under the consideration of the Scottish Parliament; and she recommended despatch in the public affairs, that both friends and enemies might be convinced of the firmness and vigour of their proceedings. The Parliament was perfectly well disposed to comply with all her majesty's requests. Warm addresses were presented by both Houses. Then they proceeded to the consideration of the supply, and having examined the estimates in less than a week, voted near six millions for the service of the ensuing year. Nevertheless, in examining the accounts, some objections arose. They found that the extraordinary supplies for the support of King Charles of Spain amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds more than the sums provided by Parliament. Some members argued that very ill consequences might ensue, if a ministry could thus run the nation in debt, and expect the Parliament should pay the money. The courtiers answered, that if any thing had been raised without necessity, or ill applied, it was reasonable that those who were in fault should be punished; but as this expense was incurred to improve advantages, at a time when the occasion could not be communicated to Parliament, the ministry was rather to be applauded for their zeal than condemned for their liberality. The question being put, the majority voted that those sums had been expended for the preservation of the Duke of Savoy, for the interest of King Charles against the common enemy, and for the safety and honour of the nation. When the speaker presented the money bills, he told her, that as the glorious victory obtained by the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies was fought before it could be supposed the armies were in the field, so it was no less surprising that the Commons had granted supplies to her majesty before the enemy could well know that the Parliament was sitting. The general was again honoured with the thanks of both Houses.

The Lords, in an address, besought the queen to settle his honours on his posterity. An act was passed for this purpose; and in pursuance of another address from the Commons, a pension of five thousand pounds out of the post office was settled upon him and his descendants. The Lords and Commons having adjourned themselves to the last day of December, the queen closed the year with triumphal processions. As the standards and colours taken at Blenheim had been placed in Westminster-hall, so now those that had been brought from the field of Ramillies were put up in Guildhall, as trophies of that victory. About this time the Earls of Kent, Lindsey, and Kingston, were raised to the rank of marquises. The Lords Wharton, Paulet, Godolphin, and Cholmondeley, were created earls. Lord Walden, son and heir apparent to the Earl of Suffolk, obtained the title of Earl of Bindon: the Lord Keeper Cowper, and Sir Thomas Pelham, were ennobled as barons.

The Parliament being assembled after their short recess, the Earl of Nottingham moved for an address to the queen, desiring her majesty would order the proceedings of the commissioners for the union, as well as those of the Scottish Parliament on the said subject, to be laid before them. He was seconded by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Rochester; and answered by the Earl of Godolphin, who told them they needed not doubt but that her majesty would communicate those proceedings, as soon as the Scottish Parliament should have discussed the subject of the union. The Lords Wharton, Somers, and Halifax observed, that it was for the honour of the nation that the treaty of union should first come ratified from the Parliament of Scotland; and that then, and not before, it would be a proper time for the Lords to take it into consideration. On the twenty-eighth day of January, the queen in person told both Houses that the treaty of union, with some additions and alterations, was ratified by an act of the Scottish Parliament; that she had ordered it to be laid before them; and hoped it would meet with their concurrence and approbation. She desired the Commons would provide for the payment of the equivalent, in case the treaty should be approved. She observed to both Houses, that now they had an opportunity of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms; and that she should look upon it as a particular happiness, if this great work, which had

The Commons approve of the articles of the union.

been so often attempted without success, could be brought to perfection in her reign. When the Commons formed themselves into a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the articles of the union, and the Scottish act of ratification, the tory party, which was very weak in that assembly, began to start some objections. Sir John Packington disapproved of this incorporating union, which he likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. He said it was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, by force and violence without; that the promoters of it had basely betrayed their trust, in giving up their independent constitution, and he would leave it to the judgment of the House to consider whether or no men of such principles were fit to be admitted into their House of Representatives. He observed that her majesty, by the coronation oath, was obliged to maintain the church of England as by law established; and likewise bound by the same oath to defend the presbyterian kirk of Scotland in one and the same kingdom. Now, said he, after this union is in force, who shall administer this oath to her majesty? It is not the business of the Scots, who are incapable of it, and no well-wishers to the church of England. It is then only the part of the bishops to do it; and can it be supposed that those reverend persons will or can act a thing so contrary to their own order and institution, as thus to promote the establishment of the presbyterian church government in the united kingdom? He added, that the Church of England being established *jure divino*, and the Scots pretending that the kirk was also *jure divino*, he could not tell how two nations that clashed in so essential an article could unite: he, therefore, thought it proper to consult the Convocation about this critical point. A motion was made that the first article of the treaty, which implies a peremptory agreement to an incorporating union, should be postponed; and that the House should proceed to the consideration of the terms of the intended union contained in the other articles. This proposal being rejected, some tory members quitted the House; and all the articles were examined and approved without further opposition. The whigs were so eager in the prosecution of this point, that they proceeded in a very superficial manner, and with such precipitation as furnished their enemies with a plausible pretence to affirm, that they had not considered the treaty with the coolness and deliberation which an affair of this importance required.

Before the Lords began to investigate the articles of the union, they, at the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, brought in a bill for the security of the church of England, to be inserted as a fundamental and essential part of that treaty. It passed through both Houses without opposition, and received the royal assent. On the fifteenth day of February, the debates concerning the union began in the House of Lords, the queen being present, and the Bishop of Sarum chairman of the committee. The Earls of Rochester, Anglesey, and Nottingham, argued against the union; as did the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Haversham, in a premeditated harangue, said the question was, whether two nations, independent in their sovereignties, that had their distinct laws and interests, their different forms of worship, church-government, and order, should be united into one kingdom? He supposed it an union made up of so many mismatched pieces, of such jarring, incongruous ingredients, that should it ever take effect, it would carry the necessary consequences of a standing power and force, to keep them from falling asunder and breaking in pieces every moment. He repeated what had been said by Lord Bacon, that an unity pieced up by direct admission of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, is like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, which were made of iron and clay, that they may cleave together, but would never incorporate. He dissented from the union for the sake of the good old English constitution, in which he dreaded some alteration from the additional weight of sixty-one Scottish members, and these too returned by a Scottish privy-council. He took notice, that above one hundred Scottish peers, and as many commoners, were excluded from sitting and voting in Parliament, though they had as much right of inheritance to sit there, as an English peer had of sitting in the Parliament of England. He expressed his apprehension of this precedent; and asked what security any peer of England had for his right and privilege of peerage, which those lords had not. He said, if the bishops would weaken their own cause, so far as to give up the two great points of episcopal ordination and confirmation; if they would approve and ratify the act for securing the presbyterian church-government in Scotland, as the true protestant religion and purity of worship; they must give up that which had been contended for between

The Lords pass a bill for the security of the church of England.

Arguments used against the articles of union.

them and the presbyterians for thirty years, and been defended by the greatest and most learned men in the church of England. He objected to the exempting articles, by which heritable offices and superiorities were reserved. He affirmed that the union was contrary to the sense of the Scottish nation: that the murmurs of the people had been so loud as to fill the whole kingdom; and so bold as to reach even to the doors of the Parliament: that the Parliament itself had suspended their beloved clause in the act of security for arming the people: that the government had issued a proclamation pardoning all slaughter, bloodshed, and maiming, committed upon those who should be found in tumults. From these circumstances he concluded that the Scottish nation was averse to an incorporated union, which he looked upon as one of the most dangerous experiments to both nations. Lords North and Grey complained of the small and unequal proportion of the land-tax imposed upon Scotland. The Earl of Nottingham said it was highly unreasonable that the Scots, who were by the treaty let into all the branches of the English trade, and paid so little towards the expense of the government, should moreover have such a round sum by way of equivalent. The same topics were insisted upon by the Lords North and Grey, Guernsey, Granville, Stawell, and Abingdon. The Earl of Nottingham, after having opposed every article separately, concluded with words to this effect: "As Sir John Maynard said to the late king at the Revolution, that having buried all his contemporaries in Westminster-hall, he was afraid, if his majesty had not come in that very juncture of time, he might have likewise outlived the very laws; so, if this union do pass, as I have no reason to doubt but it will, I may justly affirm I have outlived all the laws, and the very constitution of England; I, therefore, pray to God to avert the dire effects which may probably ensue from such an incorporating union."

These arguments and objections were answered by the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, the Lords Townshend, Halifax, and Somers, the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich, and Sarum. They observed, that such an important measure could not be effected without some inconveniences; but that these ought to be borne, in consideration of the greatness of the advantage: that the chief dangers to which

Which, however, are confirmed by act of Parliament.

the church was exposed arose from France and popery; and this union would effectually secure it against these evils: that Scotland lay on the weakest side of England, which could not be defended but by an expensive army. Should a war break out between the two nations, and Scotland be conquered, yet even in that case it would be necessary to keep it under with a standing army, which any enterprising prince might model for his ambitious purposes, and, joining with the Scots, enslave his English dominions: that any union after a conquest would be compulsive, consequently of short duration; whereas, now it was voluntary, it would be lasting: that with regard to ecclesiastical affairs, all heats and animosities might be allayed by soft and gentle management. The cantons of Switzerland, though they professed different religions, were yet united in one general body; and the diet of Germany was composed of princes and states, among whom three different persuasions prevailed: so that two sorts of discipline might very well subsist under one legislature. If there was any danger on either side, it threatened the Scots much more than the English, as five hundred and thirteen members could certainly be too hard for forty-five; and in the House of Lords, six-and-twenty bishops would always preponderate against sixteen peers from Scotland. Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the lords of the tory interest, every article was approved by a great majority, though not without a good number of protestations; and a bill of ratification was prepared in the Lower House by Sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor-general, in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the

Burnet.  
Boyer.  
Quincy.  
Torcy.  
Tindal.  
Fauquieres.  
Hist. of  
Europe.  
Hist. of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Conduct  
of the  
Duchess  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Lockhart.  
Ker.  
Friend.  
Voltaire.

articles, as they passed in Scotland, were recited by way of preamble, together with the acts made in both Parliaments for the security of the several churches; and in conclusion there was one clause, by which the whole was ratified and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their design. They could not object to the recital, which was barely matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose the general enacting clause. On the other hand, the whigs promoted it with such zeal that it passed by a majority of one hundred and fourteen, before the others had recollected themselves from the surprise which the



structure of the bill had occasioned. It made its way through the House of Lords with equal despatch; and, when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction. She said she did not doubt but it would be remembered and spoken of hereafter, to the honour of those who had been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion. She desired that her subjects of both kingdoms should from henceforward behave with all possible respect and kindness towards one another, that so it might appear to all the world they had hearts disposed to become one people.

As the act of union did not take place till the first of May, a great number of traders in both kingdoms resolved to make advantage of this interval. The English proposed to export into Scotland such commodities as entitled them to a drawback, with a view to bring them back after the first of May. The Scots, on the other hand, as their duties were much lower than those in England, intended to import great quantities of wine, brandy, and other merchandise, which they could sell at a greater advantage in England after the union, when there would be a free intercourse between the two nations. Some of the ministers had embarked in this fraudulent design, which alarmed the merchants of England to such a degree, that they presented a remonstrance to the Commons. Resolutions were immediately taken in the House against these practices, and a bill was prepared; but the Lords apprehending that it in some measure infringed the articles of the union, and that it might give umbrage to the Scottish nation, it was dropped. The frauds had been in a good measure prevented by the previous resolutions of the House; and the first day of May was now at hand, so that the bill was thought unnecessary. On the twenty-fourth day of April the queen prorogued the Parliament, after having given them to understand that she would continue by proclamation the Lords and Commons already assembled, as members in the first British Parliament on the part of England, pursuant to the powers vested in her by the acts of Parliament of both kingdoms ratifying the treaty of union. The Parliament was accordingly revived by proclamation, and another issued to convoke the first Parliament of Great Britain for the twenty-third day of October. The Scots repaired to London, where they were well received by the queen, who bestowed the title of duke

1707.  
The Par-  
liament re-  
vived by  
proclama-  
tion.

on the Earls of Roxburgh and Montrose. She likewise granted a commission for a new privy council in that kingdom, to be in force till the next session of Parliament, that the nation might not be disgusted by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The first of May was appointed as a day of public thanksgiving; and congratulatory addresses were sent up from all parts of England: but the university of Oxford prepared no compliment; and the Scots were wholly silent on this occasion.

In the course of this session the Commons, in an address to the queen, desired she would resettle the islands of St. Christopher's and Nevis in the West Indies, which had been ravaged by the enemy. They likewise resolved, that an humble address should be presented to her majesty, praying she would concert measures for suppressing a body of pirates who had made a settlement on the island of Madagascar, as also for recovering and preserving the ancient possessions, trade, and fishery of Newfoundland. The French refugees likewise delivered a remonstrance to the queen, recapitulating the benefits which the persecuted Protestants in France had reaped from the assistance of her royal progenitors, acknowledging their own happiness in living under her gentle government, among a people by whom they had been so kindly entertained when driven from their native country; and imploring her majesty's interposition and good offices in favour of their distressed and persecuted brethren abroad. She graciously received this address, declaring, she had always great compassion for the unhappy circumstances of the Protestants in France: that she would communicate her thoughts on this subject to her allies; and she expressed her hope that such measures might be taken as should effectually answer the intent of their petition. In the month of May she granted an audience to an ambassador extraordinary from the Czar of Muscovy, who delivered a letter from his master, containing complaints of King Augustus, who had maltreated the Russian troops sent to his assistance, concluded a dishonourable peace with Charles King of Sweden, without the knowledge of his allies, and surrendered Count Patkul, the Muscovite minister, as a deserter, to the Swedish monarch, contrary to the law of nations, and even to the practice of barbarians. He therefore desired her Britannic majesty would use her good offices for the enlargement of the count and the other Rus-

The queen  
gives au-  
dience to a  
Muscovite  
ambassador.

sian prisoners detained at Stockholm; and that she would take into her protection the remains of the Russian auxiliaries upon the Rhine, that they might either enter into the service of the allies, or be at liberty to return in safety to their own country. The queen actually interposed in behalf of Patkul; but her intercession proved ineffectual, and that unhappy minister was put to death with all the circumstances of wanton barbarity. As many severe and sarcastic writings had lately appeared, in which the whigs and ministry were reviled, and reflections hinted to the prejudice of the queen's person, the government resolved to make examples of the authors and publishers of these licentious productions. Dr. Joseph Browne was twice pilloried for a copy of verses, entitled, "The Country Parson's Advice to the Lord Keeper," and a letter which he afterwards wrote to Mr. Secretary Harley. William Stephens, rector of Sutton in Surrey, underwent the same sentence, as author of a pamphlet, called, "A Letter to the Author of the Memorial of the Church of England." Edward Ward was fined and set in the pillory for having written a burlesque poem on the times, under the title of "Hudibras Redivivus;" and the same punishment was inflicted upon William Pittes, author of a performance, entitled, "The Case of the Church of England's Memorial fairly stated."

The Lower House of Convocation still continued to wrangle with their superiors; and though they joined the Upper House in a congratulatory address to the queen on the success of her arms, they resolved to make application to the Commons against the union. The queen, being apprised of their design, desired the archbishop to prorogue them for three weeks, before the expiration of which the act of union had passed in Parliament. The Lower House delivered a representation to the bishops, in which they affirmed no such prorogation had ever been ordered during the session of Parliament. The bishops found in their records seven or eight precedents of such prorogations, and above thirty instances of the Convocation having sat sometimes before, and sometimes after, a session of Parliament; nay, sometimes even when the Parliament was dissolved. The queen, informed of these proceedings, wrote a letter to the archbishop, intimating, that she looked upon the Lower House as guilty of an invasion of her royal supremacy; and that, if any thing of the same nature should

Proceedings  
in Convo-  
cation.

be attempted for the future, she would use such means for punishing offenders as the law warranted. The prolocutor absenting himself from the Convocation, the archbishop pronounced sentence of contumacy against him. The Lower House, in a protestation, declared this sentence unlawful, and altogether null. Nevertheless, the prolocutor made a full submission, with which the archbishop was satisfied, and the sentence was repealed. About this period the Earl of Sunderland was appointed one of the secretaries of state in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. This change was not effected without great opposition from Harley, who was in his heart an enemy to the Duke of Marlborough and all his adherents; and had already, by his secret intrigues, made considerable progress in a scheme for superseding the influence of the duchess.

The French king at this juncture seemed to be entirely abandoned by his former good fortune. He had sustained such a number of successive defeats as had drained his kingdom of people, and his treasury was almost exhausted. He endeavoured to support the credit of his government by issuing mint-bills, in imitation of the bank-notes of England; but notwithstanding all his precautions, they passed at a discount of three-and-fifty per cent. The lands lay uncultivated; the manufactures could be no longer carried on; and the subjects perished with famine. The allies, on the other hand, seemed to prosper in every quarter. They had become masters of the greatest parts of the Netherlands, in consequence of the victory at Ramillies: the army of King Charles was considerably reinforced: a scheme was formed for the conquest of Toulon, by the troops of the emperor and the Duke of Savoy, supplied with a large sum of money by Queen Anne, and assisted by the combined fleets of England and Holland under the command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel. In a word, France seemed to be reduced to the verge of destruction, from which nothing in all probability could have saved her but the jealousy and misconduct of the confederates. Louis, by virtue of his capitulation with the emperor in Italy, was enabled to send such reinforcements into Spain as turned the fortune of the war in that country; while the distractions in the council of King Charles prevented that unanimity and concurrence without which no success can be expected. The Earl of Peterborough declared against an offensive war, on account of the

France  
threatened  
with total  
ruin.

difficulty of finding subsistence in Castile; and advised Charles to trust to the expedition against Toulon. This opinion he sent from Italy, to which he had withdrawn.

Charles, however, was persuaded to penetrate once more to Madrid, and give battle to the enemy wherever they should appear. On the thirteenth day of March the army was assembled at Caudela, to the number of sixteen thousand men, under the auspices of the Marquis das Minas, to whom the Earl of Galway was second in command. They marched towards Yecla, and undertook the siege of Viena; but having received intelligence that the Duke of Berwick was in the neighbourhood, they advanced on the fourteenth day of April in four columns towards the town of Almanza, where the enemy were drawn up in order of battle, their number being considerably superior to that of the confederates. The battle began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The English and Dutch squadrons on the left, sustained by the Portuguese horse of the second line, were overpowered after a gallant resistance. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, obliged the enemy to give way, and drove their first upon their second line: but the Portuguese cavalry on the right being broken at the first charge, their foot betook themselves to flight; so that the English and Dutch troops, being left naked on the flanks, were surrounded and attacked on every side. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired from the field of battle. By this time the men were quite spent with fatigue, and all their ammunition exhausted: they were ignorant of the country, abandoned by their horse, destitute of provision, and cut off from all hope of supply. Moved by these dismal considerations, they capitulated, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to the amount of thirteen battalions. The Portuguese, and part of the English horse, with the infantry that guarded the baggage, retreated to Alcira, where they were joined by the Earl of Galway, with about five-and-twenty hundred dragoons which he had brought from the field of battle. About three thousand men of the allied army were killed upon the spot, and among that number Brigadier Killigrew, with many officers of distinction. The Earl of Galway, who charged in person at the head of Guiscard's dragoons, received two deep cuts in the face. The

The allies  
are defeated  
at Almanza.

Marquis das Minas was run through the arm, and saw his concubine; who fought in the habit of an Amazon, killed by his side: the Lords Tyrawley, Mark Ker, and Colonel Clayton, were wounded; all their artillery, together with a hundred and twenty colours and standards, and about ten thousand men, were taken, so that no victory could be more complete; yet it was not purchased without the loss of two thousand men slain in the action, including some officers of eminence. The Duke of Berwick, who commanded the troops of King Philip, acquired a great addition of fame by his conduct and behaviour before and during the engagement; but his authority was superseded by the Duke of Orleans, who arrived in the army immediately after the battle. This prince seemed to entertain some private views of his own; for he took no effectual step to improve the victory. He began a private negotiation with the Earl of Galway, during which the two armies lay inactive on the banks of the Cinca; and he concluded the campaign with the siege of Lerida, which was surrendered by capitulation on the second day of November: then the troops on both sides went into winter quarters. The Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and General Carpenter remained commander of the English forces quartered in Catalonia, which was now the only part of Spain that remained to King Charles.

The attempt upon Toulon by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene might have succeeded, if the emperor, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the maritime powers, had not divided his army in Italy, by detaching a considerable body through the ecclesiastical state towards Naples, of which he took possession without any difficulty. Besides, ten thousand recruits, destined for the imperial forces in Italy, were detained in Germany, from an apprehension of the King of Sweden, who remained in Saxony, and seemed to be upon very indifferent terms with the emperor. With the assistance of the English and Dutch fleets, the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene passed the Var<sup>b</sup> on the eleventh day of July, at the head

Unsuccessful attempt upon Toulon.

<sup>b</sup> This passage was effected, to the astonishment of the French, who thought the works they had raised on that river were impregnable. The honour of the enterprise was in a great measure owing to the gallantry of Sir John Norris and the English seamen. That brave officer, embarking in boats with six hundred sailors and marines, entered the river, and were rowed within musket-shot of the enemy's works, where they made such a vigorous and unexpected attack, that the French were immediately driven from part of their intrenchments: then Sir John landed with his men, clambered over the works, that were

of an army of thirty thousand men, and marched directly towards Toulon, whither the artillery and ammunition were conveyed on board of the combined squadrons. The French king was extremely alarmed at this attempt, as five thousand pieces of canon, vast magazines, and the best part of his fleet, were in the harbour of Toulon, and ran the greatest risk of being entirely taken or destroyed. The whole kingdom of France was filled with consternation when they found their enemies were in the bosom of their country. The monarch resolved to leave no stone unturned for the relief of the place, and his subjects exerted themselves in a very extraordinary manner for its preservation. The nobility of the adjacent provinces armed their servants and tenants, at the head of whom they marched into the city: they coined their plate, and pawned their jewels, for money to pay the workmen employed upon the fortifications; and such industry was used, that in a few days the town and harbour, which had been greatly neglected, were put in a good posture of defence. The allies took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, and the ordnance being landed, erected batteries. From these they began to cannonade and bombard the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the Mole, and co-operated in the siege with their great guns and bomb-ketches. The garrison was numerous, and defended the place with great vigour. They sunk ships in the entrance to the Mole; they kept up a prodigious fire from the ramparts; they made desperate sallies, and even drove the besiegers from one of their posts with great slaughter. The French king, alarmed at this design of his enemies, ordered troops to march towards Toulon from all parts of his dominions. He countermanded the forces that were on their route to improve the victory of Almanza: a great part of the army under Villars on the Rhine was detached to Provence, and the court of Versailles declared that the Duke of Burgundy should march at the head of a strong army to the relief of Toulon. The Duke of Savoy, being apprised of these preparations, seeing no hope of reducing the place, and being apprehensive that his passage would be intercepted, resolved to abandon his enterprise. The artillery

deemed inaccessible, and attacking the defendants sword in hand, compelled them to fly with the utmost precipitation. This detachment was sustained by Sir Cloudesley Shovel in person. The Duke of Savoy, taking advantage of the enemy's consternation, passed the river almost without opposition.

being re-embarked, with the sick and wounded, he decamped in the night, under favour of a terrible bombardment and cannonading from the English fleet, and retreated to his own country without molestation.\* Then he undertook the reduction of Suza, the garrison of which surrendered at discretion. By this conquest he not only secured the key to his own dominions, but also opened to himself a free passage into Dauphiné.

Sir Cloudesley Shovel, having left a squadron with Sir Thomas Dilkes for the Mediterranean service, set sail for England with the rest of the fleet, and was in soundings on the twenty-second day of October. About eight o'clock at night, his own ship, the *Association*, struck upon the rocks of Scilly, and perished with every person on board. This was likewise the fate of the *Eagle* and the *Romney*: the *Firebrand* was dashed in pieces on the rocks; but the captain and four-and-twenty men saved themselves in the boat: the *Phoenix* was driven on shore: the *Royal Anne* was saved by the presence of mind and uncommon dexterity of Sir George Byng and his officers: the *St. George*, commanded by Lord Dursley, struck upon the rocks, but a wave set her afloat again. The admiral's body, being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but afterwards discovered and brought into Plymouth, from whence it was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster-abbey. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was born of mean parentage in the county of Suffolk; but raised himself to the chief command at sea by his industry, valour, skill, and integrity. On the Upper Rhine the allies were unprosperous.<sup>d</sup> The Prince of Baden

\* Had the Duke of Savoy marched with expedition from the Var, he would have found Toulon defenceless; but he lingered in such a manner as gives reason to believe he was not hearty in the enterprise; and his operations were retarded by a difference between him and his kinsman Prince Eugene.

<sup>d</sup> In the month of May three ships of the line, namely, the *Royal Oak*, of seventy-six guns, commanded by Commodore Baron Wyde; the *Grafton*, of seventy guns, Captain Edward Acton; and the *Hampton Court*, of seventy guns, Captain George Clements, sailed as convoy to the West India and Portugal fleet of merchant ships, amounting to five-and-fifty sail. They fell in with the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of ten ships of war, one frigate, and four privateers, under the command of M. de Forbin. A furious action immediately ensued, and notwithstanding the vast disproportion in point of number, was maintained by the English commodore with great gallantry, until Captain Acton was killed, Captain Clements mortally wounded, and the *Grafton* and *Hampton Court* were taken, after having sunk the *Salisbury*, at that time in the hands of the French; then the commodore, having eleven feet water in his hold, disengaged himself from the enemy, by whom he had been surrounded, and ran his ship aground near Dungenesse; but she afterwards floated, and he brought her safe into the Downs. In the mean time the French frigate and privateers made prize of twenty-one English merchant ships of great value, which, with the *Grafton* and *Hampton Court*, Forbin conveyed in triumph to Dunkirk. In July the same active officer took fifteen ships belonging to the Russian company, off the coast of

Sir Cloudesley Shovel wrecked on the rocks of Scilly. Weakness of the emperor on the Upper Rhine.



was dead, and the German army so inconsiderable, that it could not defend the lines of Buhl against the Mareschal de Villars, who broke through this work, esteemed the rampart of Germany, reduced Rastadt, defeated a body of horse, laid the Duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, took Stutgard and Schorndorf; and routed three thousand Germans intrenched at Lorch, under the command of General Janus, who was made prisoner. In all probability, this active officer would have made great progress towards the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, had not he been obliged to stop in the middle of his career, in consequence of his army's being diminished by sending off detachments to Provence. The imperial army retired towards Hailbron, and the command of it was, at the request of the emperor and allies, assumed by the Elector of Hanover, who restored military discipline, and acted with uncommon prudence and circumspection; but he had not force sufficient to undertake any enterprise of importance.

In the month of April, the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague for Leipsick, with a letter from the queen to Charles XII. of Sweden, whose designs were still so mysterious, that the confederates could not help being alarmed at his being in the heart of Germany. The duke was pitched upon as the most proper ambassador, to soothe his vanity and penetrate into his real intention.\* He found this original cha-

Interview  
between the  
King of  
Sweden  
and the  
Duke of  
Marlborough.

Lapland. In September he joined another squadron fitted out at Brest under the command of the celebrated M. du Guni Trouin, and these attacked, off the Lizard, the convoy of the Portugal fleet, consisting of the Cumberland, Captain Richard Edwards, of eighty guns; the Devonshire, of eighty; the Royal Oak, of seventy-six; the Chester and Ruby, of fifty guns each. Though the French squadron did not fall short of twelve sail of the line, the English captains maintained the action for many hours with surprising valour. At length the Devonshire was obliged to yield to superior numbers; the Cumberland blew up; the Chester and Ruby were taken; the Royal Oak fought her way through the midst of her enemies, and arrived safe in the harbour of Kinsale; and the Lisbon fleet saved themselves by making the best of their way during the engagement. Since the battle off Malaga, the French king had never dared to keep the sea with a large fleet, but carried on a kind of piratical war of this sort in order to distress the trade of England. He was the more encouraged to pursue these measures, by the correspondence which his ministers carried on with some wretches belonging to the Admiralty and the other offices, who basely betrayed their country in transmitting to France such intelligence concerning the convoys appointed for the protection of commerce, as enabled the enemy to attack them at advantage. In the course of this year, the French fishery, stags, ships, and vessels in Newfoundland were taken, burned, and destroyed, by Captain John Underdown, of the Falkland.

\* When the duke arrived in his coach at the quarters of Count Piper, of whom he had demanded an audience, he was given to understand that the count was busy, and obliged to wait half an hour before the Swedish minister came down to receive him. When he appeared at last, the duke alighted from his coach, put on his hat, passed the count without saluting him, and went aside to the wall, where having stayed some time, he returned, and accosted him with the most polite address.

racter, not simple, but sordid in his appearance and economy, savage in his deportment, ferocious, illiterate, stubborn, implacable, and reserved. The English general assailed him on the side of his vanity, the only part by which he was accessible. "Sire," said he, "I present to your majesty a letter, not from the chancery, but from the heart of the queen my mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea to see a prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me, to learn under so great a general as your majesty what I want to know in the art of war." Charles was pleased with this overstrained compliment, which seems to have been calculated for a raw, unintelligent barbarian, unacquainted with the characters of mankind. He professed particular veneration for Queen Anne, as well as for the person of her ambassador, and declared he would take no steps to the prejudice of the grand alliance. Nevertheless, the sincerity of this declaration has been questioned. The French court is said to have gained over his minister, Count Piper, to their interest. Certain it is, he industriously sought occasion to quarrel with the emperor, and treated him with great insolence, until he submitted to all his demands. The treaty being concluded upon the terms he thought proper to impose, he had no longer the least shadow of pretence to continue his disputes with the court of Vienna, and therefore began his march for Poland, which was by this time overrun by the Czar of Muscovy.

The Duke of Marlborough, returning from Saxony, assembled the allied army at Anderlach, near Brussels, about the middle of May; and understanding that the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Vendome, who commanded the French forces, had quitted their lines, he advanced to Soignies, with a design to engage them in the plain of Fleurus. But receiving certain intelligence that the enemy were greatly superior to the allies in number, by the help of drafts from all the garrisons, he retreated towards Brussels, and took post at Mildert, while the French advanced to Gemblours. Both armies lay inactive until the enemy sent off a large detachment towards Provence. Then the Duke of Marlborough and General d'Auverquerque

Inactive  
campaign  
in the Ne-  
therlands.

resolved to attack them in their fortified camp at Gemblours. But they retreated with such celerity from one post to another, that the confederates could not come up with them until they were safely encamped with their right at Pont-a-Tresin, and their left under the cannon of Lisle, covered with the river Schelde, and secured by intrenchments. The allies chose their camp at Helchin, and foraged under the cannon of Tournay, within a league of the enemy; but nothing could induce them to hazard an engagement; and both armies went into winter quarters in the latter end of October. The Duke of Marlborough set out for Franckfort, where he conferred with the Electors of Mentz, Hanover, and Palatine, about the operations of the next campaign: then he returned to the Hague, and having concerted the necessary measures with the deputies of the States-General, embarked for England in the beginning of November.

The queen's private favour was now shifted to a new object. The Duchess of Marlborough was sup-  
Harley be-  
gins to form  
a party  
against the  
Duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough.  
 planted by Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had rescued from indigence and obscurity. This favourite succeeded to that ascendancy over the mind of her sovereign which the duchess had formerly possessed. She was more humble, pliable, and obliging, than her first patroness, who had played the tyrant, and thwarted the queen in some of her most respected maxims. Her majesty's prepossession in favour of the tories and high churchmen was no longer insolently condemned and violently opposed. The new confidante conformed to all her prejudices, and encouraged all her designs with assent and approbation. In political intrigues she acted as associate, or rather auxiliary, to Mr. Secretary Harley, who had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces, and determined to sap the credit of the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin. His aim was to unite the tory interest under his own auspices, and expel the whigs from the advantages they possessed under the government. His chief coadjutor in this scheme was Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, a man of warm imagination and elegant taste, penetrating, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprising, whose talents were rather specious than solid, and whose principles were loose and fluctuating. He was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to the designs of the secretary; but

when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, he was fired with the ambition of eclipsing his principal, and from the sphere of his minister raised himself to the character of his rival. These politicians, with the assistance of Sir Simon Harcourt, a colleague of uncommon ability and credit, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the disunited tories, who were given to understand that the queen could no longer bear the tyranny of the whigs: that she had been always a friend in her heart to the tory and high-church party: and that she would now exhibit manifest proof of her inclination. She accordingly bestowed the bishopricks of Chester and Exeter upon Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackall, who, though otherwise of unblemished characters, had openly condemned the Revolution.

The people in general began to be sick of the whig ministry, whom they had formerly caressed. To them they imputed the burdens under which they groaned; burdens which they had hitherto been animated to bear by the pomp of triumph and uninterrupted success. At present they were discouraged by the battle of Almanza, the miscarriage of the expedition against Toulon, the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the fate of four ships of the line, destroyed or taken by a squadron under the command of Messieurs Forbin and Du Guai Trouin, two of the most enterprising sea-officers in the French service. No new advantage had been obtained in the Netherlands: France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow: the English traders had lately sustained repeated losses for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline. The tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, and the ministry were too remiss in taking proper steps for the satisfaction of the nation. Instead of soothing by gentle measures, and equal administration, the Scots, who had expressed such aversion to the union, they treated them in such a manner as served to exasperate the spirits of that people. A stop was put to their whole commerce for two months before it was diverted into the new channel. Three months elapsed before the equivalent was remitted to that kingdom, and it was afterwards applied to the most shameful partiality. Seizures of

The nation  
discontented  
with the  
whig mi-  
nistry.

wines and other merchandize imported from thence into England were made in all the northern parts with an affectation of severity and disdain; so that the generality of the Scottish nation loudly exclaimed against the union and the government. The Jacobites were again in commotion. They held conferences: they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germain's: a great number of the most rigid whigs entered so far into their measures as to think a revolution was absolutely necessary to retrieve the liberties, independence, and commerce of their country: the pretender's birthday was publicly celebrated in many different parts of the kingdom; and everything seemed to portend an universal revolt. Ireland continued quiet under the administration of the Earl of Pembroke, whom the queen had appointed lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. A Parliament, having met at Dublin in the month of July, presented an address of congratulation to her majesty on the late union of the two kingdoms. The Commons, having inspected the public accounts, resolved, that the kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent returned by the late trustees, as due out of the forfeited estates, which returns were false and unjust; and that an humble representation should be laid before her majesty on this subject. They passed another laudable resolution in favour of their own manufactures. They granted the necessary supplies, and having finished several bills for the royal assent, were prorogued on the twenty-ninth day of October.

It was on the twenty-third of the same month that the first Parliament of Great Britain assembled at Westminster, when the queen, in her speech to both Houses, palliated the miscarriages in Provence and in Spain; represented the necessity of making further efforts against the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard against those who endeavoured to sow jealousies in the commonwealth. The Commons, in their address, expressed the continuance of their former zeal and devotion to her majesty's government; but in the House of Lords, the Earl of Wharton expatiated upon the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy. He was seconded by Lord Somers, and the leaders of the tory party, who proposed that, previous to every measure, they should consider the state of the nation. The design of Wharton and Somers was to raise the Earl of

Meeting of  
the first  
British  
Parliament.

Orford once more to the head of the Admiralty; and the tories, who did not perceive their drift, hoped, in the course of the inquiry, to fix the blame of all mismanagement upon the whig ministers. A day being fixed for this examination, the House received a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great losses by sea, for want of cruizers and convoys; and these complaints were proved by witnesses. The report was sent to the lord-admiral, who answered all the articles separately: then the tories moved for an address, in which the blame of the miscarriages might be laid upon the ministry and cabinet council; but the motion was overruled: the queen was presented with a bare representation of the facts, and desired that she would take the proper measures for preventing such evils for the future. The Commons made some progress in an inquiry of the same nature; and brought in a bill for the better securing the trade of the kingdom. They cheerfully granted the supplies for the service of the ensuing year. They prepared another bill for repealing the Scottish act of security, and that about peace and war, which had excited such jealousy in the English nation. They resolved, that there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain: that the militia of Scotland should be put on the same footing with that of England; that the powers of the justices of the peace should be the same through the whole island: that the lords of justiciary in Scotland should go circuits twice in the year: that the writs for electing Scottish members to serve in the House of Commons should be directed, and returns made, in the same manner as practised in England. An act being formed on these resolutions, they brought in a bill for preserving the trade with Portugal: then they considered the state of the war in Spain.

When the queen passed these bills, she recommended an augmentation in the aids and auxiliaries granted to the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy. This intimation produced a debate in the House of Lords on the affairs of Spain. The services of the Earl of Peterborough were extolled by the Earl of Rochester and Lord Haversham, who levelled some oblique reflections at the Earl of Galway. Several lords enlarged upon the necessity of carrying on the war until King Charles should be fully established upon the throne of Spain. The Earl of Peterborough said they ought to contribute nine shillings in

*Inquiry into the state of the war in Spain.*

the pound rather than make peace on any other terms : he declared himself ready to return to Spain, and serve even under the Earl of Galway. The Earl of Rochester repeated a maxim of the old Duke of Schomberg, that attacking France in the Netherlands was like taking a bull by the horns. He therefore proposed that the allies should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and detach from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men into Catalonia. He was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham; but warmly opposed by the Duke of Marlborough, who urged, that the great towns in Brabant which he had conquered could not be preserved without a considerable number of men; and that if the French should gain any advantage in Flanders from their superiority in point of number, the discontented party in Holland, which was very numerous, and bore with impatience the burden of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace. Being challenged by Rochester to show how troops could be procured for the service of Italy and Spain, he assured the House that measures had been already concerted with the emperor for forming an army of forty thousand men under the Duke of Savoy, for sending powerful succours to King Charles. This declaration finished the debate, which issued in an affectionate address to her majesty. The Lords resolved, that no peace could be safe and honourable for her majesty and her allies, if Spain and the Spanish West Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the House of Bourbon. They presented an address, in which they desired she would press the emperor to send powerful succours to Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene, with all possible expedition to make good his contract with the Duke of Savoy, and strengthen the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the conduct of that wise and valiant prince, the Elector of Hanover. The Commons concurred in this remonstrance, in consequence of which the queen desired the emperor to bestow the command in Spain upon Prince Eugene. The court of Vienna, however, did not comply with this request; but sent thither Count Staremberg, who, of all the German generals, was next to the prince in military reputation. The Commons now proceeded to consider of ways and means, and actually established funds for raising the supply, which amounted to the enormous sum of six millions.

At this period Mr. Harley's character incurred suspicion,

from the treachery of William Gregg, an inferior clerk in his office, who was detected in a correspondence with Monsieur Chamillard, the French king's minister. When his practices were detected he made an ample confession, and, pleading guilty to his indictment at the Old Bailey, was condemned to death for high treason. At the same time, John Bara and Alexander Valiere were committed to Newgate for corresponding with the enemy; and Claude Baude, secretary to the Duke of Savoy's minister, was, at the request of his master, apprehended for traitorous practices against her majesty and her government. A committee of seven lords, being appointed to examine these delinquents, made a report to the House, which was communicated to the queen in an address, importing, that Gregg had discovered secrets of state to the French minister: that Alexander Valiere and John Bara had managed a correspondence with the governors and commissaries of Calais and Boulogne; and, in all probability, discovered to the enemy the stations of the British cruisers, the strength of their convoys, and the times at which the merchant ships proceeded on their voyages: that all the papers in the office of Mr. Secretary Harley had been for a considerable time exposed to the view of the meanest clerks; and that the perusal of all the letters to and from the French prisoners had been chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. The queen granted a reprieve to this man, in hope of his making some important discovery; but he really knew nothing of consequence to the nation. He was an indigent Scot, who had been employed as a spy in his own country, and now offered his services to Chamillard, with a view of being rewarded for his treachery; but he was discovered before he had reaped any fruits from his correspondence. As he had no secrets of importance to impart, he was executed at Tyburn, where he delivered a paper to the sheriff, in which he declared Mr. Harley entirely ignorant of all his treasonable connexions, notwithstanding some endeavours that were made to engage him in an accusation of that minister.

The queen had refused to admit the Earl of Peterborough into her presence, until he should have vindicated his conduct, of which King Charles had complained, in divers letters. He was eagerly desirous of a par-

Gregg, a clerk in the secretary's office, detected in a correspondence with the French ministry.

Harley resigns his employments.



liamentary inquiry. His military proceedings, his negotiations, his disposal of the remittances, were taken into consideration by both Houses; but he produced such a number of witnesses and original papers to justify every transaction, that his character triumphed in the inquiry, which was dropped before it produced any resolution in Parliament. Then they took cognizance of the state of affairs in Spain, and found there had been a great deficiency in the English troops at the battle of Almanza. This, however, was explained so much to their satisfaction, that they voted an address to the queen, thanking her for having taken measures to restore the affairs in Spain, and provide foreign troops for that service. The bill for rendering the union more complete met with a vigorous opposition in the House of Lords from the court party, on account of the clause enacting, that, after the first of May, there should be but one privy-council in the kingdom of Great Britain. The ministry, finding it was strenuously supported by all the tories, and a considerable number of the other faction, would have compromised the difference, by proposing that the privy-council of Scotland should continue to the first day of October. They hinted this expedient, in hope of being able to influence the ensuing elections; but their design being palpable, the motion was overruled, and the bill received the royal assent: a court of exchequer, however, was erected in Scotland upon the model of that in England. The execution of Gregg, and the examination of Valiere and Bara, who had acted as smugglers to the coast of France, under the protection of Harley, to whom they engaged for intelligence, affected the credit of that minister, who was reviled and traduced by the emissaries of the whig party. The Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, being apprised of his secret practices with Mrs. Masham, wrote to the queen that they could serve her no longer should Mr. Harley continue in the post of secretary. Being summoned to the cabinet council, they waited on her in person, and expostulated on the same subject. She endeavoured to appease their resentment with soft persuasion, which had no effect; and when they retired from court, to the astonishment of all the spectators, she repaired in person to the council. There Mr. Secretary Harley began to explain the cause of their meeting, which was some circumstance relating to foreign affairs. The Duke of Somerset said he did not see how they could de-

liberate on such matters while the general and treasurer were absent; the other members observed a sullen silence; so that the council broke up, and the queen found herself in danger of being abandoned by her ministers. Next day her majesty sent for the Duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office, which was conferred upon Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer: but she deeply resented the deportment of the duke and the Earl of Godolphin, from whom she entirely withdrew her confidence. Sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, Sir Thomas Mansel, comptroller of the household, and Mr. St. John, relinquished their several posts upon the disgrace of Harley.

The kingdom was at this period alarmed with a threatened invasion from France. The court of St. Germain's had sent over one Colonel Hook with credentials to Scotland, to learn the situation, number, and ability of the pretender's friends in that country. This minister, by his misconduct, produced a division among the Scottish Jacobites. Being a creature of the Duke of Perth, he attached himself wholly to the Duke of Athol, and those other zealous partisans who were bent upon receiving the pretender without conditions; and he neglected the Duke of Hamilton, the earl-mareschal, and other adherents of that house, who adopted the more moderate principles avowed by the Earl of Middleton. At his return to France, he made such a favourable report of the disposition and power of the Scottish nation, that Louis resolved to equip an armament, and send over the pretender to that kingdom. His pretence was to establish that prince on the throne of his ancestors; but his real aim was to make a diversion from the Netherlands, and excite a revolt in Great Britain, which should hinder Queen Anne from exerting herself against France on the continent. He began to make preparation for this expedition at Dunkirk, where a squadron was assembled under the command of the Chevalier de Fourbin; and a body of land-forces were embarked with Monsieur de Gace, afterwards known by the appellation of the Mareschal de Matignon. The pretender, who had assumed the name of the Chevalier de St. George, was furnished with services of gold and silver plate, sumptuous tents, rich clothes for his life-guards, splendid livrics, and all sorts of necessaries even to profusion. Louis at parting presented him with a sword studded with valuable diamonds, and repeated what he had formerly said

The pre-  
tender em-  
barks at  
Dunkirk  
for Scot-  
land.

to this adventurer's father : "He hoped he should never see him again." The pope contributed to the expense of this expedition, and accommodated him with divers religious inscriptions, which were wrought upon his colours and standards. Queen Anne, being informed of these preparations, and the design of the French monarch, communicated to the Commons the advices which she had received from Holland and the Netherlands touching the destination of the Dunkirk armament : both Houses concurred in an address, assuring her they would assist her majesty with their lives and fortunes against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all her other enemies. Then they passed a bill, enacting, that the oath of abjuration should be tendered to all persons, and such as refused to take it should be in the condition of convicted recusants. By another, they suspended the habeas corpus act till October with relation to persons apprehended by the government on suspicion of treasonable practices. The pretender and his adherents were proclaimed traitors and rebels ; and a bill was passed, discharging the clans of Scotland from all vassalage to those chiefs who should take up arms against her majesty. Transports were hired to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend : a large fleet, being equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from Deal towards Dunkirk, under the conduct of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley. The French imagined that Leake had sailed to Lisbon, and that Britain was unprovided of ships of war ; so that they were amazed and confounded when this fleet appeared off Mardyke : a stop was immediately put to the embarkation of their troops : frequent expresses were despatched to Paris : the Count de Fourbin represented to the French king the little probability of succeeding in this enterprise, and the danger that would attend the attempt ; but he received positive orders to embark the forces, and set sail with the first favourable wind.

The British fleet being forced from their station by severe weather on the fourteenth day of March, the French His design is defeated. squadron sailed on the seventeenth from the road of Dunkirk ; but the wind shifting, it anchored in Newport-pits till the nineteenth in the evening, when they set sail again with a fair breeze, steering their course for Scotland. Sir George Byng, having received advice of their departure from an Ostend vessel sent out for that purpose by Major-General Cadogan, gave chase to the enemy, after having

detached a squadron under Admiral Baker, to convoy the troops that were embarked at Ostend for England. On the tenth day of March, the Queen went to the House of Peers, where, in a speech to both Houses, she told them that the French fleet had sailed; that Sir George Byng was in pursuit of them; and that ten battalions of her troops were expected every day in England. This intimation was followed by two very warm addresses from the Lords and Commons, in which they repeated their assurances of standing by her against all her enemies. They exhorted her to persevere in supporting the common cause, notwithstanding this petty attempt to disturb her dominions; and levelled some severe insinuations against those who endeavoured to foment jealousies between her majesty and her most faithful servants. Addresses on the same occasion were sent up from different parts of the kingdom; so that the queen seemed to look with contempt upon the designs of the enemy. Several regiments of foot, with some squadrons of cavalry, began their march for Scotland: the Earl of Leven, commander-in-chief of the forces in that country, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh, hastened thither to put that fortress in a posture of defence, and to make the proper dispositions to oppose the pretender at his landing. But the vigilance of Sir George Byng rendered all these precautions unnecessary. He sailed directly to the Frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English admiral gave chase; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night Monsieur de Fourbin altered his course, so that next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify his request; but the wind changing, and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the Chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they laboured.

Certain it is, the pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union : the regular troops under Leven did not exceed five-and-twenty hundred men, and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader : the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons ; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress : a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus, where they would have been seized by the friends of the pretender, had the French troops been landed ; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms. In England such a demand was made upon the bank, by those who favoured the invasion, and those who dreaded a revolution, that the public credit seemed to be in danger. The Commons resolved, that whoever designedly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time when the kingdom was threatened with an invasion, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, and an enemy to her majesty and the kingdom. The lord treasurer signified to the directors of the bank that her majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per cent. upon their bills, which was double the usual rate ; and considerable sums of money were offered to them by this nobleman, as well as by the Dukes of Marlborough, Newcastle, and Somerset. The French, Dutch, and Jewish merchants, whose interest was in a peculiar manner connected with the safety of the bank, exerted themselves for its support ; and the directors, having called in twenty per cent. upon their capital stock, were enabled to answer all the demands of the timorous and disaffected. All the noblemen and persons of distinction in Scotland, suspected of an attachment to the court of St. Germain's, were apprehended, and either imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, or brought up to London, to be confined in the tower or in Newgate. Among these was the Duke of Hamilton, who found means to make his peace with the whig ministers ;

State of the  
nation at  
that period.

Burchet.  
Hare.  
Boyer.  
Lockhart.  
Fenquieres.  
Daniel.  
Hist. of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Conduct  
of the  
Duchess  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Friend.  
Burchet.  
Tindal.  
Lives of  
the Ad-  
mirals.  
Voltaire.

and, in a little time, the other prisoners were admitted to bail.<sup>f</sup>

On the first day of April, the Parliament was prorogued, and afterwards dissolved by proclamation. Writs were issued out for new elections, together with a proclamation, commanding all the peers of North Britain to assemble at Holyrood-house in Edinburgh, on the seventeenth day of June, to elect sixteen peers to represent them in the ensuing British Parliament, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of union. After the dissolution of the Parliament, the Lords Griffin, Clermont, two sons of the Earl of Middleton, and several Scottish and Irish officers, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, or in Newgate. Lord Griffin, being attainted by outlawry, for high treason committed in the reign of King William, was brought to the bar of the court of King's Bench, and a rule made for his execution; but he was reprieved from month to month, until he died of a natural death in prison. The privy-council of Scotland was dissolved; the Duke of Queensberry was created a British peer, by the title of Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverley, and Duke of Dover; and

<sup>f</sup> Three camisars, or protestants, from the Cevennois, having made their escape, and repaired to London, acquired about this time the appellation of French prophets, from their enthusiastic gesticulations, effusions, and convulsions; and even formed a sect of their countrymen. The French refugees, scandalized at their behaviour, and authorized by the Bishop of London, as superior of the French congregations, resolved to inquire into the mission of these pretended prophets, whose names were Elias Marion, John Cavalier, and Durand Fage. They were declared impostors and counterfeits. Notwithstanding this decision, which was confirmed by the bishops, they continued their assemblies in Soho, under the countenance of Sir Richard Bulkley and John Lacy. They reviled the ministers of the established church; they denounced judgments against the city of London, and the whole British nation; and published their predictions, composed of unintelligible jargon. Then they were prosecuted at the expense of the French churches, as disturbers of the public peace, and false prophets. They were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and stand twice on a scaffold, with papers on their breasts denoting their offence; a sentence which was executed accordingly at Charing-cross and the Royal Exchange.

In the course of this year, Mr. Stanhope, who was resident from the queen at the court of Charles, concluded a treaty of commerce with this monarch, which would have proved extremely advantageous to Great Britain, had he been firmly established on the throne of Spain. It was stipulated that the English merchants should enjoy the privilege of importing all kinds of merchandise from the coast of Barbary into the maritime places of Spain, without paying any higher duty than if that merchandise had been the produce of Great Britain; and that even these duties should not be paid till six months after the merchandise should be landed and sold, the merchants giving security for the customs. It was agreed that the whole commerce of the Spanish West Indies should be carried on by a joint company of Spanish and British merchants; and in the interim, as the greater part of that country was in the hands of Philip, his competitor consented that the British subjects should trade freely in all the ports of the West Indies with ten ships of five hundred tons each, under such convoy as her Britannic majesty should think fit to appoint.

the office of secretary at war, vacant by the resignation of Henry St. John, was bestowed upon Robert Walpole, a gentleman who had rendered himself considerable in the House of Commons, and whose conduct we shall have occasion to mention more at large in the sequel. About the same time a proclamation was issued for distributing prizes, in certain proportions, to the different officers and seamen of the royal navy; a regulation that still prevails.

The French king, not at all discouraged by the miscarriage of his projected invasion, resolved to improve the advantages he had gained on the continent during the last campaign, and indeed he made efforts that were altogether incredible, considering the consumptive state of his finances.\* He assembled a prodigious army in the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by Vendome, and accompanied by the Duke of Berry and the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was destined to the command of the troops upon the Rhine, where he was seconded by the Duke of Berwick; and the Mareschal de Villeroy was sent to conduct the forces in Dauphiné. About the latter end of March, the Duke of Marlborough repaired to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene; these two celebrated generals conferred with the Pensionary Heinsius, and the deputies of the States-General. Then they made an excursion to Hanover, where they prevailed upon the elector to be satisfied with acting upon the defensive in his command on the Rhine, and spare part of his forces, that the confederates might be enabled to make vigorous efforts in the Netherlands. The prince pro-

\* Before the opening of the campaign, a very daring enterprise was formed by one Colonel Queintern, a partisan in the imperial army. This man laid a scheme for carrying off the Dauphin of France from the court of Versailles. He selected thirty men of approved valour for this undertaking. He procured passes for them, and they rendezvoused in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the twenty-fourth day of March, in the evening, he and his accomplices stopped a coach and six, with the king's liveries, and arrested the person who was in it, on the supposition of his being a prince of the blood. It was, however, M. de Berrighen, the king's first equerry. This officer they mounted on a spare horse, and set out for the Low Countries: but, being little acquainted with the roads, they did not reach Chantilly till next morning, when they heard the toxeu, or alarm-bell, and thence concluded that detachments were sent out in pursuit of them. Nevertheless, they proceeded boldly, and would certainly have carried the point, had not Queintern halted three hours for the refreshment of his prisoner, who complained of his being indisposed. He likewise procured a chaise, and ordered the back of it to be lowered for his convenience. These acts of humanity retarded him so much, that he was overtaken by a detachment of horse at Ham, within three hours' ride of a place of safety. Finding himself surrounded, he thought proper to surrender, and M. de Berrighen treated him with great generosity, for the civilities he had experienced at his hands. He carried him back to Versailles, and lodged him in his own apartments. Madame de Berrighen made him a considerable present; and the king ordered him and his companions to be discharged, on account of the courage and humanity they had displayed.

ceeded to Vienna, and the duke immediately returned to Flanders, where he assembled the army towards the latter end of May. On the twenty-fifth day of that month, the Duke de Vendome marched to Soignies, and posted himself within three leagues of the confederates, who were encamped at Billingen and Halle. The Duke of Marlborough, having received intelligence that the enemy were on their march by Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Leuwe, concluded their intention was to take post on the banks of the Deule, to hinder the allies from passing that river, and to occupy Louvaine. He, therefore, commanded the army to march all night, and on the third day of June encamped at Terbank, General d'Auverquerque fixing his quarters in the suburbs of Louvaine, while the French advanced no further than Genap and Braine-la-Leuwe. As they were more numerous than the confederates, and headed by a prince of the blood, the generals of the allies at first expected that they would hazard a battle; but their scheme was to retrieve by stratagem the places they had lost in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria had rendered himself extremely popular in the great towns: the Count de Bergeyck, who had considerable interest among them, was devoted to the house of Bourbon: the inhabitants of the great cities were naturally inconstant and mutinous, and particularly dissatisfied with the Dutch government. The French generals resolved to profit by these circumstances. A detachment of their troops, under the Brigadiers La Faille and Pasteur, surprised the city of Ghent, in which there was no garrison; at the same time the Count de la Motte, with a strong body of forces, appeared before Bruges, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he made a fruitless attempt upon Damme, and marched to the little fort of Plassendahl, which he took by assault. The Duke of Marlborough was no sooner apprised of the enemy's having sent a strong detachment towards Tubize, than he marched from Terbank, passed the canal, and encamped at Anderlech. The French crossed the Seine at Halle and Tubize, and the allies resolved to attack them next morning; but the enemy passed the Dender in the night with great expedition; and the Duke of Marlborough next day encamped at Asche, where he was joined by Prince Eugene, who had marched with a considerable reinforcement of Germans from the Moselle. The enemy, understanding that this general was on his march, determined to reduce Oudenarde, the only



pass on the Schelde possessed by the confederates; and invested it on the ninth day of July, hoping to subdue it before the allies could be reinforced. The Duke of Marlborough was immediately in motion, and made a surprising march from Asche, as far as Herselingen, where he was joined by the reinforcement. Then he took possession of the strong camp at Lessines, which the French had intended to occupy, in order to cover the siege of Oudenarde.

Thus disappointed, the French generals altered their resolution, abandoned Oudenarde, and began to pass the Schelde at Gavre. The two generals of the confederates were bent upon bringing them to an engagement. Cadogan was sent with sixteen battalions and eight squadrons to repair the roads, and throw bridges over the Schelde below Oudenarde. The army was in motion at eight o'clock, and marched with such expedition, that by two in the afternoon the horse had reached the bridges over which Cadogan and his detachment were passing. The enemy had posted seven battalions in the village of Heynem, situated on the banks of the Schelde, and the French household troops were drawn up in order of battle on the adjacent plain, opposite to a body of troops under Major-General Rantzaw, who were posted behind a rivulet that ran into the river. The Duke de Vendome intended to attack the confederates when one-half of their army should have passed the Schelde; but he was thwarted by the Duke of Burgundy, who seemed to be perplexed and irresolute. This prince had ordered the troops to halt in their march to Gavre, as if he had not yet formed any resolution; and now he recalled the squadrons from the plain, determined to avoid a battle. Vendome remonstrated against this conduct, and the dispute continued till three in the afternoon, when the greater part of the allied army had passed the Schelde without opposition. Then the Duke of Burgundy declared for an engagement, and Vendome submitted to his opinion with great reluctance, as the opportunity was now lost, and the army unformed. Major-General Grimaldi was ordered to attack Rantzaw with the horse of the king's household, who, finding the rivulet marshy, refused to charge, and retired to the right. Meanwhile Cadogan attacked the village of Heynem, which he took with three of the seven battalions by which it was guarded. Rantzaw, passing the rivulet, advanced into the plain, and drove before him several squadrons of the enemy.

They are  
routed at  
Oudenarde.

In this attack the Electoral Prince of Hanover, his late majesty George II., charged at the head of Bulau's dragoons with great intrepidity. His horse was shot under him, and Colonel Laschky killed by his side. Divers French regiments were entirely broken, and a good number of officers and standards fell into the hands of the Hanoverians. The confederates continued still passing the river; but few or none of the infantry were come up till five in the afternoon, when the Duke of Argyle arrived with twenty battalions, which immediately sustained a vigorous assault from the enemy. By this time the French were drawn up in order of battle; and the allies being formed as they passed the river, both armies were engaged through the whole extent of their lines about seven in the evening. Europe had not for many years produced two such noble armies: above one hundred general officers appeared in the field, and two hundred and fifty colonels fought at the head of their respective regiments. The number of the French exceeded that of the allies by twelve thousand: but their generals were divided, their forces ill-disposed, and the men dispirited by the uninterrupted success of their adversaries. They seemed from the beginning averse to an engagement, and acted in hurry and trepidation. Nevertheless the action was maintained until General d'Auverquerque and Count Tilly, who commanded on the left of the allies, obliged the right of the enemy to give ground, and the Prince of Orange with Count Oxienstern, attacked them in flank with the Dutch infantry. Then they began to give way, and retired in great confusion. The Duke de Vendome, alighting from his horse, rallied the broken battalions, called the officers by name, conjured them to maintain the honour of their country, and animated the men with his voice and example. But notwithstanding all his endeavours, they were forced back among the enclosures in great confusion. Some regiments were cut in pieces; others desired to capitulate; and if the darkness had not interposed, their whole army would have been ruined. The night coming on, so that it became impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the two generals ordered the troops to cease firing, and the enemy took this opportunity of escaping by the road which leads from Oudenarde to Ghent. The Duke de Vendome, seeing the French forces flying in the utmost terror and precipitation, formed a rear-guard of about five-and-twenty squadrons, and as many battalions, with which

he secured the retreat. To this precaution the safety of the army was entirely owing; for at daybreak the Duke of Marlborough sent a large detachment of horse and foot, under the Lieutenant-Generals Bulau and Lumley, to pursue the fugitives; but the hedges and ditches that skirted the road were lined with the French grenadiers in such a manner, that the cavalry could not form, and they were obliged to desist. The French reached Ghent about eight in the morning, and marching through the city, encamped at Loven-degen on the canal. There they thought proper to cast up intrenchments, upon which they planted their artillery, which they had left at Gavre with their heavy baggage. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle; two thousand deserted; and about seven thousand were taken, including a great number of officers, together with ten pieces of cannon, above a hundred standards and colours, and four thousand horses. The loss of the allies did not amount to two thousand men; nor was one officer of distinction killed on their side during the whole engagement.<sup>a</sup> After the confederates had rested two days on the field of battle, a detachment was ordered to level the French lines between Ypres and the Lys: another was sent to raise contributions as far as Arras: they ravaged the country, and struck terror even into the city of Paris. While the allies plundered the province of Picardy, a detachment from the French army, under the Chevalier de Rozen, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders, broke through the lines of Bervliet, which had been left unguarded, and made a descent upon the island of Cad-sandt, which they laid under contribution.

The generals of the allies now undertook an enterprise, which, in the opinion of the French generals, savoured of rashness and inconsiderate self-sufficiency. This was the siege of Lisle, the strongest town in Flanders, provided with all necessaries, store of ammunition, and a garrison reinforced with one-and-twenty battalions of the best troops in France, commanded by Mareschal de Boufflers in person. But these were not the principal difficulties which the allies encountered. The enemy had cut off the communication between them and their magazines at Antwerp and Sas-Fan-Ghent; so that they were obliged to bring their

The allies  
invest  
Lisle.

<sup>a</sup> Among the officers who were engaged in this battle, old General d'Auverquerque and the Duke of Argyle distinguished themselves by the most extraordinary valour and activity.

convoys from Ostend along a narrow causeway, exposed to the attack of an army more numerous than that with which they sat down before Lisle. On the thirteenth of August it was invested on one side by Prince Eugene, and on the other by the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Stadtholder of Friesland; while the Duke of Marlborough encamped at Helchin, to cover the siege. The trenches were opened on the twenty-second day of August, and carried on with that vigour and alacrity which is always inspired by victory and success. The Dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, being now joined by the Duke of Berwick, resolved, if possible, to relieve the place; and made several marches and countermarches for this purpose. Marlborough, being apprised of their intention, marched out of his lines to give them battle; being reinforced by a considerable body of troops from the siege, including Augustus King of Poland, and the Landgrave of Hesse, as volunteers: but the enemy declined an engagement, and the allies returned to their camp, which they fortified with an intrenchment. On the seventh day of September, the besiegers took by assault the counterscarp of Lisle, after an obstinate action, in which they lost a thousand men. The French generals continued to hover about the camp of the confederates, which they actually cannonaded; and the Duke of Marlborough again formed his army in order of battle; but their design was only to harass the allies with continual alarms, and interrupt the operations of the siege. They endeavoured to surprise the town of Aeth, by means of a secret correspondence with the inhabitants; but the conspiracy was discovered before it took effect. Then they cut off all communication between the besiegers and the Schelde, the banks of which they fortified with strong intrenchments, and a prodigious number of cannon; so that now all the stores and necessaries were sent to the camp of the confederates from Ostend. On the twenty-first day of September, Prince Eugene, who was in the trenches, seeing the troops driven by the enemy from a lodgment they had made on the counterscarp of the Tenaille, rallied and led them back to the charge; but being wounded over the left eye with a musket-shot, he was obliged to retire, and for some days the Duke of Marlborough sustained the whole command, both in the siege and of the covering army. On the twenty-third the Tenaille was stormed, and a lodgment made along the covered way. Mareschal Boufflers having found means to inform the

Duke de Vendome that his ammunition was almost expended, this general detached the Chevalier de Luxembourg, with a body of horse and dragoons, to supply the place with gunpowder, every man carrying a bag of forty pounds upon the crupper. They were discovered in passing through the camp of the allies, and pursued to the barrier of the town, into which about three hundred were admitted; but a great number were killed by the confederates, or miserably destroyed by the explosion of the powder which they carried.

The next attempt of the French generals was to intercept a convoy from Ostend. The Count de la Motte marched from Ghent, with about two-and-twenty thousand men, to attack this convoy, which was guarded by six thousand of the allies, commanded by Major-General Webb. This officer made such an admirable disposition by the wood of Wynendale, and received the enemy with such a close fire, that after a very warm action, that lasted two hours, they retired in the utmost confusion, notwithstanding their great superiority in numbers, leaving six thousand men killed upon the field of battle; the loss of the allies not exceeding nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers. This was the most honourable exploit performed during the whole war, and of such consequence to the confederates, that if the convoy had been taken, the siege must have been raised. The Duke de Vendome ordered the dikes between Bruges and Newport to be cut, so as to lay the whole country under water, in hopes of destroying the communication between Ostend and the camp of the confederates; and after a regular siege, he took Colonel Caulfield, and a body of British troops posted in the village of Leffinghen, by whose means the convoys had been forwarded to the Duke of Marlborough. On the twenty-second of October, Mareschal Boufflers desired to capitulate for the town of Lisle: next day the articles were signed: on the twenty-fifth the allies took possession of the place, and the mareschal retired into the citadel with the remains of his garrison, which, from twelve thousand, was reduced to less than the half of that number. A negotiation was begun for the surrender of the citadel; but Boufflers made such extravagant demands as were rejected with disdain. Hostilities were renewed on the twenty-ninth day of the month; and the Earl of Stair was detached to provide corn for the army in the districts of Furnes and Dixmuyde.

They defeated a large body of French forces at Wynendale. The Elector of Bavaria attacks Brussels.

During these transactions, Veldt-Mareschal d'Auverquerque died at Rausselaer, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, after having, in above thirty campaigns, exhibited innumerable proofs of uncommon courage, ability, and moderation. The Duke de Vendome did not despair of obliging the confederates to abandon their enterprise: the French ministers at Rome and Venice publicly declared the allied army was cooped up in such a manner, that it must either raise the siege or be famished. The Elector of Bavaria, with a detachment of ten thousand men, marched to Brussels, and attacked the counterscarp with incredible fury; but was repulsed by the garrison, under the command of General Paschal, and retired with precipitation, when he understood that the Duke of Marlborough was in motion to relieve the place. This nobleman and Prince Eugene no sooner understood the danger to which Brussels was exposed, than they marched with the covering army to the Schelde, which they passed in pontoons without opposition, notwithstanding the formidable works which the French had raised. They now abandoned them with precipitation, to the surprise of the confederates, who had laid their account with the loss of a thousand men in the attack. Having passed the river between Eskenaffe and Hauterive, as well as at other places, they marched to Oudenarde, where they received intelligence that the elector had retreated. Then Prince Eugene returned to Lisle, and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Brussels, where he was received with joy and acclamation. He afterwards took post at Oudenarde, so as to maintain a communication with Prince Eugene.

The besiegers, having made lodgments and raised batteries on the second counterscarp of the citadel, sent a message to Boufflers, intimating, that if he would surrender before the opening of the batteries, he should have an honourable capitulation; otherwise he and his garrison must be made prisoners of war. He chose to avoid the last part of the alternative: hostages were exchanged on the eighth day of December, and the articles signed on the tenth: when the mareschal and his garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conducted to Douay. In this great enterprise, spirit and perseverance made amends for want of foresight and skill, which was flagrant on the side of the confederates; yet their success was owing in a great measure to the improvidence

Lisle surrendered,  
Ghent taken, and  
Bruges abandoned.

and misconduct of the besieged. The French generals never dreamed that the allies would attempt anything of consequence after the reduction of Lisle, considering the advanced season of the year, and therefore they returned to Paris after having distributed their army into winter quarters. But their indefatigable antagonists were determined to strike another stroke of importance before their forces should separate. On the twentieth day of December they invested the city of Ghent on all sides; and on the thirtieth, when the batteries were ready to open, the Count de la Motte, who commanded the garrison, desired to capitulate. On the third day of the next month he marched out with thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, which were conducted to Tournay; while the Duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, took possession of the town and citadel. Then the enemy abandoned Bruges, Plassendahl, and Leffinghen; and the generals of the allies, having settled the plan of winter quarters, repaired to Holland, leaving the forces under the command of Count Tilly. The French king was confounded and dismayed at these conquests in the Netherlands. Nor was he easy on the side of Dauphiné: in spite of all the vigilance and activity of Villars, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of the important fortresses of Exilles, La Perouse, the valley of St. Martin, and Fenestrells; so that by the end of the campaign he had secured a barrier to his own frontiers, and opened a way into the French provinces, after having made a diversion in favour of King Charles, by obliging the enemy to send a strong detachment from Rousillon to the assistance of Villars.

The campaign in Catalonia was productive of a great event. Count Guido de Staremberg arrived at Barcelona on the last day of April; but the imperial troops brought from Italy by Admiral Leake Conquest of Minorca by General Stanhope. did not land in time to relieve Tortosa, which the Duke of Orleans besieged and took, together with Denia, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war, contrary to the articles of capitulation. These losses, however, were abundantly made up to the allies by the conquest of Sardinia and Minorca. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the Marquis d'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, and summoned the viceroy to submit to King Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants

compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles. The deputies of the states, being assembled by the Marquis d'Alconzel, acknowledged that prince as their sovereign, and agreed to furnish his army with thirty thousand sacks of corn, which were accordingly transported to Catalonia, where there was a great scarcity of provision. Major-General Stanhope, having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from Count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese: at the head of these he embarked at Barcelona with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by Brigadier Wade and Colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island, about ten miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and General Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats that all the garrison should be sent to the mines if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards, and six hundred French marines, commanded by Colonel la Jonquire, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand, so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which Brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition that they should march out with the honours of war: that the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. These last, however, were detained by way of reprisals for the garrison of Denia. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquire was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement of all



Europe, and the garrison of Fort Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the Admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government, for King Philip had oppressed and deprived them of their privileges; General Stanhope appointed Colonel Petit governor of Fort St. Philip, and deputy-governor of the whole island. After this important conquest he returned to the army in Spain, where an unsuccessful attempt to surprise Tortosa finished the operations of the campaign.

The British fleet not only contributed to the reduction of Minorca, but likewise overawed the pope, who had endeavoured to form a league of the princes in Italy against the emperor. This pontiff had manifested his partiality to the house of Bourbon in such a palpable manner that his imperial majesty ordered Monsieur de Bonneval to march with the troops that were in Italy, reinforced by those belonging to the Duke of Modena, and invade the duchy of Ferrara. He accordingly took possession of Comachio and some other places, pretending they were allodial estates belonging to the Duke of Modena, and fiefs of the emperor, to which the holy see had no lawful claim. The Viceroy of Naples was forbid to remit any money to Rome: and the council of the kingdom drew up a long memorial containing the pretensions of his Catholic majesty, which struck at the very foundation of the pope's temporal power. His holiness wrote a long remonstrance to the emperor on the injustice of those proceedings, and declared that he would assert his cause though he should lose his life in the contest. He forthwith began to raise an army, and revived a plan for forming a league among the princes and states of Italy for their mutual defence. Sir John Leake had received orders to bombard Civita Vecchia, in resentment for the pope's having countenanced the pretender's expedition to Great Britain: but as the emperor and Duke of Savoy hoped to effect an accommodation with the court of Rome, they prevailed upon the English admiral to suspend hostilities until they should have tried the method of negotiation. The Marquis de Prie, a Piedmontese nobleman, was sent as ambassador to Rome; but the pope would not receive him in that quality. Elated with the promises of France, he set the emperor at defiance; and his troops, having surprised a body of imperialists, were

so barbarous as to cut them all in pieces. The Duke of Savoy having ended the campaign, the troops of the emperor, which had served under that prince, were ordered to march into the papal territories, and drove the forces of his holiness before them, without any regard to number. Bologna capitulated; and Rome began to tremble with the apprehension of being once more sacked by a German army. Then the pope's courage failed; he was glad to admit the Marquis de Prie as envoy from the emperor. He consented to disband his new levies; to accommodate the imperial troops with winter quarters in the papal territories; to grant the investiture of Naples to King Charles; and to allow at all times a passage to the imperial troops through his dominions. On the Upper Rhine the Electors of Bavaria and Hanover were so weak that they could not undertake any thing of consequence against each other. In Hungary the disputes still continued between the emperor and the malecontents. Poland was at length delivered from the oppression exercised by the King of Sweden, who marched into the Ukraine against the Czar of Muscovy, notwithstanding the submission with which that monarch endeavoured to appease his indignation. During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West Indies, Commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthage. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

The court of England was about this time not a little disquieted by the consequences of an outrage committed on the person of the Count de Matueof, the Muscovite ambassador. He was publicly arrested at the suit of a laceman, and maltreated by the bailiffs, who dragged him to prison, where he continued until he was bailed by the Earl of Feversham. Incensed at this insult, he demanded redress of the government, and was seconded in his remonstrances by the ministers of the emperor, the King of Prussia, and several other foreign potentates. The queen expressed uncommon indignation against the authors of this violence, who were immediately apprehended, and

Death of  
Prince  
George of  
Denmark.

orders were given to prosecute them with the utmost severity of the law. Matueof repeated his complaints with great acrimony; and Mr. Secretary Boyle assured him, in the queen's name, that he should have ample satisfaction. Notwithstanding this assurance, he demanded a pass for himself and family; refused the ordinary presents at his departure; and retired to Holland. From thence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the czar to the queen, insisting upon her punishing with death all the persons concerned in violating the law of nations upon the person of his ambassador. Such punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of England, the queen and her ministry were extremely perplexed, and held several councils, to deliberate upon the measures proper to be taken on such an occasion. On the twenty-eighth day of October, Prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the Earl of Pembroke was created lord high admiral, the Earl of Wharton promoted to the government of Ireland, and Lord Somers appointed president of the council. Notwithstanding these promotions of the whig noblemen, the Duke of Marlborough declined apace in his credit with the queen, who privately consulted and reposed her chief confidence in Mr. Harley, though he had no visible concern in the administration.

The new Parliament, in which the whig interest still preponderated, was assembled on the sixteenth day of November, when they were given to understand, by a commission under the great seal, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord steward, and the master of the horse, were appointed to represent the person of her majesty, whom decency would not permit to appear in the House so soon after the death of her consort. Sir Richard Onslow, being chosen Speaker of the Lower House with the queen's approbation, the chancellor, in a speech to both Houses, recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, telling them her majesty hoped they would enable her to make a considerable augmentation

The new  
Parliament  
assembled.

for preserving and improving the advantages which the allies had gained in the Netherlands: that she desired they would prepare such bills as might confirm and render the union effectual; and that if they would propose means for the advancement of trade and manufacture, she would take pleasure in enacting such provisions. Both Houses having presented addresses of condolence and congratulation, on the death of Prince George, and the success of her majesty's arms during the last campaign, the Commons took cognizance of controverted elections, which were decided with shameful partiality for the whig faction. Then they proceeded to consider the different branches of the supply: they approved of an augmentation of ten thousand men, which was judged necessary for the more vigorous prosecution of the war; and they voted above seven millions for the service of the ensuing year. The bank agreed to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in exchequer bills for the government, on condition that the term of their continuance should be prolonged for one-and-twenty years; and that their stock of two millions two hundred and one thousand one hundred and seventy-one pounds should be doubled by a new subscription. The two-thirds subsidy was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by this expedient.

Great debates having arisen about Scottish elections, the House considered the petitions and representations that were delivered, touching the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scottish peers excluded from sitting in the Parliament of Great Britain. Counsel being heard upon the subject, that incapacity was confirmed, and new writs were issued, that new members might be elected for the shires of Aberdeen and Linlithgow, in the room of William, Lord Haddo, and James, Lord Johnstown. Petitions were likewise presented to the House of Lords by some Scottish peers, concerning their right of voting, and signing proxies. After warm debates, the House, upon a division, determined that a Scottish lord, created a peer of Great Britain, should no longer retain his vote in Scotland; and that the noblemen who were in the castle of Edinburgh had a right to sign proxies, after having taken the oaths to the government. The Scottish peers and commoners that sat in the British Parliament were divided into two factions. The Duke of Queensberry was in great credit with the queen

Naturaliza-  
tion bill.

and the lord treasurer, by whose interest he was appointed secretary of state for Scotland. His influence in elections was so great, that all offices in that kingdom were bestowed according to his recommendation. He was opposed by the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh, who were supported by the Earl of Sunderland and Lord Somers; so that the whole interest in that country was engrossed by one or other member of the ministry. A bill for a general naturalization of all Protestants was brought into the House, and notwithstanding violent opposition from the tories, both among the Lords and Commons, was enacted into a law. The whigs argued for this bill, as a measure that would encourage industry, improve trade and manufacture, and repair the waste of men which the war had occasioned: but one of their chief motives was to throw an addition of foreigners into the balance against the landed interest. The tories pleaded that a conflux of aliens might prove dangerous to the constitution: that they would retain a fondness for their native countries, and in times of war act as spies and enemies: that they would insinuate themselves into places of trust and profit; become members of Parliament; and by frequent intermarriages contribute to the extinction of the English race: that they would add to the number of the poor, already so expensive; and share the bread of the labourers and tradesmen of England.

An inquiry being set on foot in both Houses concerning the late intended invasion of Scotland, Lord Haver-  
Act of Grace.  
 sham and the other tory members endeavoured to demonstrate that proper precautions had not been taken for the security of that kingdom, even after the ministry had received undoubted intelligence of the pretender's design: that since the attempt had miscarried, many persons of quality had been apprehended, and severely used by the government, on pretended suspicion of high treason; though, in all probability, the aim of the ministry, in confining those persons, was to remove all possibility of their opposing the court at the ensuing elections for members of Parliament. These assertions were supported by many incontestable facts and shrewd arguments, notwithstanding which, the majority were so little disposed to find fault, that the inquiry issued in a joint address to the queen, containing resolutions, that timely and effectual care had been taken to disappoint the designs of her majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad.

A bill, however, was brought into the House of Lords, under the title of "An act for improving the Union of the two Kingdoms." It related to trials for treason in Scotland, which by this law were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with some small variation. The Scottish members opposed it as an encroachment upon the form of their laws; and they were joined by those who had laid it down as a maxim to oppose all the court measures: nevertheless, the bill passed through both Houses, and received the royal assent. Yet in order to sweeten this unpalatable medicine, the queen consented to an act of grace, by which all treasons were pardoned, except those committed on the high seas: an exception levelled at those who had embarked with the Pretender. Major-General Webb, who had been defrauded of his due honour, in a partial representation of the battle of Wynendale, transmitted by Cardonnel, secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was now thanked by the House of Commons for the great and eminent services which he had performed in that en-

Burnet.  
Daniel.  
Hist. of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Mil. Hist.  
Tindal.  
Conduct  
of the  
Duchess  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Fouquieres.  
Quincy.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.  
Hare.  
Voltaire.

gagement. This motion was made by the Tories; and the Whigs did not fail to procure a compliment of the same nature to the Duke of Marlborough, even before he returned to England. When the news of Ghent's being taken arrived, the Lords and Commons congratulated the queen on this last effort of a glorious campaign; and the duke, at his arrival, was thanked, in the name of the Peers, by the lord chancellor. As he was supposed to have brought over proposals of peace, the two Houses, in an address, desired the queen would insist on the demolition of Dunkirk, which was a nest of pirates that infested the ocean, and did infinite prejudice to the commerce of England. The queen promised to comply with their request. But she was not a little surprised at the next address they presented, humbly entreating, that she would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage. She told them that the provision she had made for the Protestant succession would always be a proof how much she had at heart the future happiness of the kingdom; but the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer.

The laws having been found insufficient to punish capi-

tally the authors of the insult offered to the Muscovite ambassador, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for preserving the privileges of ambassadors and other foreign ministers, and passed through both Houses; as did another, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public, a practice which had been carried to a degree of infatuation, and by which many unwary persons fell a sacrifice to crafty adventurers. On the fourteenth day of March the Commons voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds for the relief of the inhabitants of Nevis and St. Christopher's, who had suffered by the late invasion; and on the twenty-first day of April the Parliament was prorogued. The Muscovite ambassador continued to write expostulatory letters to Mr. Secretary Boyle, who at last owned that the laws of the kingdom did not admit of such punishment as he demanded. An information was tried in the Court of King's Bench for her majesty against Thomas Morton, laceman, and thirteen other persons concerned in the insult, of which they were found guilty; and the special matter of the privileges of ambassadors was to be argued next term before the judges. Meanwhile, the queen, by way of satisfaction to the czar, condescended to make solemn excuses by her ambassador, to repair Matueof's honour by a letter, and indemnify him for all his costs and damages: concessions with which the czar and his ambassador declared themselves well satisfied. The Convocation had been summoned, chosen, and returned with the new Parliament; but as the old spirit was supposed to prevail in the Lower House, the queen, by writ to the archbishop, ordered him to prorogue it from time to time, until the session of Parliament was finished.

Disputes  
about the  
Muscovite  
ambassador  
compromised.

1709.

## CHAPTER X.

NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE INEFFECTUAL.—THE ALLIED ARMY BESIEGES AND TAKES TOURNAI.—THE FRENCH ARE DEFEATED AT MALPLAQUET.—MONS SURRENDERED.—CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.—THE FRENCH KING'S PROPOSALS OF TREATING REJECTED BY THE STATES-GENERAL.—ACCOUNT OF DR. SACHEVERELL.—HE IS IMPEACHED BY THE COMMONS.—HIS TRIAL.—DEBATES UPON IT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—HE IS SILENCED FOR THREE YEARS.—CONFERENCES AT GERTRUYDENBURGH.—PRIDE AND OBSTINACY OF THE DUTCH.—DOUAY BESIEGED AND TAKEN BY THE CONFEDERATES, AS WELL AS BETHUNE, AIRB, AND ST. VENANT.—KING CHARLES OBTAINS A VICTORY OVER PHILIP AT SARAGOSSA, AND ENTERS MADRID.—BATTLE OF VILLAVICIOSA.—THE WHIG MINISTRY DISGRACED.—THE PARLIAMENT IS DISSOLVED.—MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.—THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH INSULTED AND REVILED.—INQUIRY INTO THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR IN SPAIN.—SEVERE VOTES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AGAINST THOSE WHO INVITED OVER THE POOR PALATINES.—HARLEY SHAMMED AT THE COUNCIL-BOARD BY GUSCARD; AND CREATED EARL OF OXFORD.—DEATH OF THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.—REPRESENTATION BY THE COMMONS TO THE QUEEN.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONVOCATION.—THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH CONTINUES TO COMMAND THE ALLIED ARMY.—HE SURPRISES THE FRENCH LINES.—REDUCES BOUCHAIN.—THE DUKE OF ARGYLE COMMANDS THE BRITISH TROOPS IN SPAIN.—KING CHARLES ELECTED EMPEROR.—EXPEDITION TO CANADA.—INSOLENCE OF THE JACOBITES IN SCOTLAND.—A NEGOTIATION SET ON FOOT BETWEEN THE COURTS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—PRIOR IS SENT TO FONTAINEBLEAU.—MENAGER ARRIVES PRIVATELY IN ENGLAND.—THE FRENCH KING'S PROPOSALS DISAGREEABLE TO THE ALLIES.—VIOLENT DEBATE UPON THEM IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—THE DUKE OF HAMILTON'S TITLE OF DUKE OF BRANDON DISALLOWED.—BILL AGAINST OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY PASSES.—DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH DISMISSED FROM ALL HIS EMPLOYMENTS.—TWELVE NEW PEERS CREATED.—PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.—WALPOLE EXPELLED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—VOTES AGAINST THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—RESOLUTIONS AGAINST THE BARRIER TREATY AND THE DUTCH.—ACTS UNFAVOURABLE TO THE PRESBYTERIAN DISCIPLINE IN SCOTLAND.

THE French king was by this time reduced to such a state of humiliation by the losses of the last campaign, and a severe winter, which completed the misery of his subjects, that he resolved to sacrifice all the considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interest of his grandson, to his desire of peace, which was now become so necessary and indispensable. He despatched the President Rouillé privately to Holland, with general proposals of peace, and the offer of a good barrier to the States-General, still entertaining hopes of being able to detach them from the confederacy. This minister conferred in secret with Buys and Vanderdussen, the Pensionaries of Amsterdam and Gouda, at Moerdyke, from whence he was permitted to proceed to Woerden, between Leyden and Utrecht. The states immediately communicated his pro-

1709.  
Negotia-  
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posals to the courts of Vienna and Great Britain. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough arrived at the Hague in April, and conferred with the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, Buys, and Vanderdussen, on the subject of the French proposals, which were deemed unsatisfactory. Rouillé immediately despatched a courier to Paris for further instructions; and the Duke of Marlborough returned to England, to make the queen acquainted with the progress of the negotiation. Louis, in order to convince the states of his sincerity, sent the Marquis de Torcy, his secretary for foreign affairs, to the Hague, with fresh offers, to which the deputies would make no answer until they knew the sentiments of the Queen of Great Britain. The Duke of Marlborough crossed the seas a second time, accompanied by the Lord Viscount Townshend, as ambassador-extraordinary, and joint-plenipotentiary: Prince Eugene being likewise at the Hague, the conferences were begun. The French minister declared, that his master would consent to the demolition of Dunkirk: that he would abandon the pretender, and dismiss him from his dominions: that he would acknowledge the queen's title and the Protestant succession: that he would renounce all pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and cede the places in the Netherlands which the States-General demanded for their barrier: that he would treat with the emperor on the footing of the treaty concluded at Ryswick, and even demolish the fortifications of Strasburg. The ministers of the allies, rendered proud and wanton by success, and seeing their own private interest in the continuation of the war, insisted upon the restitution of the Upper and Lower Alsace to the empire; upon the French monarch's restoring Strasburg in its present condition; upon his ceding the town and castellany of Lisle, demolishing Dunkirk, New Brisac, Fort Louis, and Hunningen. In a word, their demands were so insolent, that Louis would not have suffered them to be mentioned in his hearing, had not he been reduced to the last degree of distress. One can hardly read them without feeling a sentiment of compassion for that monarch, who had once given law to Europe, and been so long accustomed to victory and conquest. Notwithstanding the discouraging despatches he had received from the President Rouillé, after his first conferences with the deputies, he could not believe that the Dutch would be so blind to their own interest as to reject

the advantages in commerce, and the barrier which he had offered. He could not conceive that they would choose to bear the burden of excessive taxes in prosecuting a war, the events of which would always be uncertain, rather than enjoy the blessings of peace, security, and advantageous commerce: he flattered himself that the allies would not so far deviate from their purposed aim of establishing a balance of power, as to throw such an enormous weight into the scale of the house of Austria, which cherished all the dangerous ambition and arbitrary principles, without the liberality of sentiment peculiar to the house of Bourbon. In proportion as they rose in their demands, Louis fell in his condescension. His secretary of state, the Marquis de Torcy, posted in disguise to Holland, on the faith of a common blank passport. He solicited, he soothed, he supplicated, and made concessions in the name of his sovereign. He found the States were wholly guided by the influence of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. He found these generals elated, haughty, overbearing, and implacable. He in private attacked the Duke of Marlborough on his weakest side: he offered to that nobleman a large sum of money, provided he would effect a peace on certain conditions. The proposal was rejected. The duke found his enemies in England increasing, and his credit at court in the wane; and he knew that nothing but a continuation of the war, and new victories, could support his influence in England. Torcy was sensible that his country was utterly exhausted; that Louis dreaded nothing so much as the opening of the campaign; and he agreed to those articles upon which they insisted as preliminaries. The French king was confounded at these proposals: he felt the complicated pangs of grief, shame, and indignation. He rejected the preliminaries with disdain. He even deigned to submit his conduct to the judgment of his subjects. His offers were published, together with the demands of the allies. His people interested themselves in the glory of their monarch. They exclaimed against the cruelty and arrogance of his enemies. Though impoverished and half-starved by the war, they resolved to expend their whole substance in his support; and rather to fight his battles without pay, than leave him in the dire necessity of complying with such dishonourable terms. Animated by these sentiments, they made such efforts as amazed the whole world. The preli-

minaries being rejected by the French king, Rouillé was ordered to quit Holland in four-and-twenty hours; and the generals of the confederates resolved to open the campaign without farther hesitation.

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough proceeded to Flanders, and towards the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Lisle, to the number of one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. At the same time, the Mareschal Villars, accounted the most fortunate general in France, assembled the French forces in the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals, having observed his situation, and perceiving he could not be attacked with any probability of success, resolved to undertake the siege of Tournay, the garrison of which Villars had imprudently weakened. Accordingly, they made a feint upon Ypres, in order to deceive the enemy, and convert all their attention to that side, while they suddenly invested Tournay on the twenty-seventh day of June. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve weakened battalions and four squadrons of dragoons, the place was so strong, both by art and nature, and Lieutenant de Surville, the governor, possessed such admirable talents, that the siege was protracted, contrary to the expectation of the allies, and cost them a great number of men, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken for the safety of the troops. As the besiegers proceeded by the method of sap, their miners frequently met with those of the enemy underground, and fought with bayonet and pistol. The volunteers on both sides presented themselves to these subterraneous combats, in the midst of mines and countermines ready primed for explosion. Sometimes they were kindled by accident, and sometimes sprung by design; so that great numbers of those brave men were stifled below, and whole battalions blown into the air, or buried in the rubbish. On the twenty-eighth day of July, the besiegers having effected a practicable breach, and made the necessary dispositions for a general assault, the enemy offered to capitulate: the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison retired to the citadel. Surville likewise entered into a treaty about giving up the citadel: the articles being sent to the court of Versailles, Louis would not ratify them, except upon condition that there should be a general cessation in the Netherlands till the fifth day of

The allied army besieges and takes Tournay.

September. Hostilities were renewed on the eighth day of August, and prosecuted with uncommon ardour and animosity. On the thirtieth, Surville desired to capitulate on certain articles, which were rejected by the Duke of Marlborough, who gave him to understand that he had no terms to expect, but must surrender at discretion. At length, his provision being quite exhausted, he was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war, though they were permitted to return to France, on giving their parole that they would not act in the field until a like number of the allies should be released.

The next object that attracted the eyes of the confederates was the city of Mons, which they resolved to besiege with all possible expedition. They passed the Scheldt on the third day of September, and detached the Prince of Hesse to attack the French lines from the Haisne to the Sombre, which were abandoned at his approach. On the seventh day of September, Mareschal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, content to act in an inferior capacity to Villars, although his superior in point of seniority. The Duke of Marlborough, having received advice that the French were on their march to attack the advanced body under the Prince of Hesse, decamped from Havre, in order to support that detachment. On the ninth the allies made a motion to the left, by which the two armies were brought so near each other that a mutual cannonading ensued. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the same number, encamped with the right near Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of the wood of Lagniere; the head-quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, instead of attacking the allies, began to fortify their camp, which was naturally strong, with triple intrenchments. In a word, they were so covered with lines, hedges, intrenchments, cannon, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. Had the confederates attacked them on the ninth, the battle would not have been so bloody, and the victory would have proved more decisive, for they had not then begun to secure the camp; but Marlborough postponed the engagement until they should be reinforced by eighteen battalions which had been employed in the siege of Tournay; and in the mean time the French fortified themselves with incredible dili-

The French  
are defeated  
at Malpla-  
quet.

gence and despatch. On the eleventh day of September, early in the morning, the confederates, favoured by a thick fog, erected batteries on each wing, and in the centre; and about eight o'clock, the weather clearing up, the attack began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, commanded by General Schuylemburgh, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, and supported by two-and-twenty battalions under Count Lottum, attacked the left of the enemy with such vigour, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricadoes, they were in less than an hour driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The Prince of Orange and Baron Fagel, with six-and-thirty Dutch battalions, advanced against the right of the enemy posted in the wood of La Merte, and covered with three intrenchments. Here the battle was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides. The Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment; but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The Prince of Orange persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, even after two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers either slain or disabled. The French fought with an obstinacy of courage that bordered on despair, till seeing their lines forced, their left wing and centre giving way, and their general, Villars, dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat towards Bavay, under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The field of battle they abandoned to the confederates, with about forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and a good number of prisoners: but this was the dearest victory the allies had ever purchased. About twenty thousand of their best troops were killed in the engagement; whereas the enemy did not lose half that number, and retired at leisure, perfectly recovered of that apprehension with which they had been for some years inspired and overawed by the successes of their adversaries. On the side of the allies, Count Lottum, General Tettau, Count Oxienstern, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, were killed, with many other officers of distinction. Prince Eugene was slightly wounded on the head: Lieutenant General Webb received a shot in the groin. The Duke of Argyle, who distinguished himself by extraordinary feats of valour, escaped unhurt; but several musket-balls penetrated through his clothes, his hat, and periwig. In the French army the Chevalier de St. George charged twelve times

with the household troops, and in the last was wounded with a sword in the arm. The Mareschal de Villars confidently asserted, that if he himself had not been disabled, the confederates would certainly have been defeated.

Considering the situation of the French, the number of their troops, and the manner in which they were fortified, nothing could be more rash and imprudent than the attack, which cost the lives of so many gallant men, and was attended with so little advantage to the conquerors. Perhaps the Duke of Marlborough thought a victory was absolutely necessary to support his sinking interest at the court of Great Britain. His intention was to have given battle before the enemy had intrenched themselves; but Prince Eugene insisted upon delaying the action until the reinforcement should arrive from Tournay. The extraordinary carnage is imputed to the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange, whose aim through this whole war was to raise himself into consideration with the States-General, by signal acts of military prowess. The French having retired to Valenciennes, the allies were left at liberty to besiege Mons, which capitulated about the end of October; and both armies were distributed in winter quarters. The campaign on the Rhine produced nothing but one sharp action, between a detachment of the French army commanded by the Count de Borgh, and a body of troops under Count Merci, who had passed the Rhine, in order to penetrate into Franche-Comté. The imperial officer was worsted in this encounter, with the loss of two thousand men; obliged to repass the river, and retire to Fribourg. In Piedmont, Veldt-Mareschal Thau commanded the confederates, in the room of the Duke of Savoy, who refused to take the field, until some differences which had arisen between the emperor and him should be adjusted. Thau's design was to besiege Briançon; but the Duke of Berwick had taken such precautions as frustrated his intention, though part of the troops under the French general were employed in suppressing an insurrection of the Camisars, and other malecontents in the Vivarez. They were entirely defeated in a pitched battle; and Abraham, one of their leaders, being taken, was broken alive upon the wheel; three-and-twenty were hanged, and the other prisoners sent to the galleys. The pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, under various pretences, in hopes that the campaign would prove favourable to the House of Bourbon; till at length the

emperor giving him to understand that his army should take up their winter quarters in the ecclesiastical states, his holiness solemnly owned Charles as King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily.

The military operations in Spain and Portugal were unfavourable to the allies. On the seventh of May, <sup>Campaign</sup> the Portuguese and English were defeated at Caya <sup>in Spain.</sup> by the Spaniards, under the command of the Mareschal de Bay. The castle of Alicant, guarded by two English regiments, had been besieged, and held out during the whole winter. At length the Chevalier d'Asfeldt ordered the rock to be undermined, and having lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder, gave Syburg, the governor, to understand, that two of his officers might come out and see the condition of the works. This offer being accepted, Asfeldt in person accompanied them to the mine; he told them he could not bear the thoughts of seeing so many brave men perish in the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended; and allowed them four-and-twenty hours to consider on the resolution they should take. Syburg continued deaf to his remonstrances; and, with an obstinacy that savoured more of stupidity than of valour, determined to stand the explosion. When the sentinels that were posted on the side of the hill gave notice, by a preconcerted signal, that fire was set to the mine, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked out to the parade accompanied by several officers. The mine being sprung, the rock opened under their feet, and they falling into the chasm, it instantly closed and crushed them to death. Notwithstanding this dreadful incident, Colonel d'Albón, who succeeded to the command, resolved to defend the place to the last extremity. Sir Edward Whitaker sailed from Barcelona to the relief of the place; but the enemy had erected such works as effectually hindered the troops from landing. Then General Stanhope, who commanded them, capitulated with the Spanish general for the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war, and was transported to Minorca, where the men were put into quarters of refreshment. On the frontiers of Catalonia, General Staremberg maintained his ground, and even annoyed the enemy. He passed the Segra, and reduced Balaguer: having left a strong garrison in the place, he repassed the river, and sent his forces into winter quarters. The most remarkable event of this summer was the battle of Pultowa, in which the King of

Sweden was entirely defeated by the Czar of Muscovy, and obliged to take refuge at Bender, a town of Moldavia, in the Turkish dominions. Augustus immediately marched into Poland against Stanislaus, and renounced his own resignation, as if it had been the effect of compulsion. He formed a project with the Kings of Denmark and Prussia to attack the Swedish territories in three different places: but the emperor and maritime powers prevented the execution of this scheme, by entering into a guarantee for preserving the peace of the empire. Nevertheless, the King of Denmark declared war against Sweden, and transported an army over the Sound of Schonen; but they were attacked and defeated by the Swedes, and obliged to re-embark with the utmost precipitation. The war still continued to rage in Hungary, where, however, the revolvers were routed in many petty engagements.

Though the events of the summer had been less unfavourable to France than Louis had reason to expect, he saw that peace was as necessary as ever to his kingdom; but he thought he might now treat with some freedom and dignity. His minister, Torey, maintained a correspondence with Mr. Petkum, resident of the Duke of Holstein at the Hague: he proposed to this minister that the negotiation should be renewed; and demanded passes by virtue of which the French plenipotentiaries might repair in safety to Holland. In the mean time, the French king withdrew his troops from Spain, on pretence of demonstrating his readiness to oblige the allies in that particular; though this measure was the effect of necessity, which obliged him to recall those troops for the defence of his own dominions. The States-General refused to grant passes to the French ministers; but they allowed Petkum to make a journey to Versailles. In the interim King Philip published a manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague to his prejudice. Far from yielding Spain and the Indies to his competitor, he declared his intention of driving Charles from those places that were now in his possession. He named the Duke of Alba and Count Berghyek for his plenipotentiaries, and ordered them to notify their credentials to the maritime powers; but no regard was paid to their intimation. Philip tampered likewise with the Duke of Marlborough; and the Marquis de Torey renewed his attempts upon that general; but all his application and address proved ineffectual. Petkum brought

The French king's proposals of treating rejected by the States-General.



back from Versailles a kind of memorial, importing, that those motives which influenced the French before the campaign was opened no longer subsisted: that the winter season naturally produced a cessation of arms, during which he would treat of a general and reasonable peace, without restricting himself to the form of the preliminaries which the allies had pretended to impose: that, nevertheless, he would still treat on the foundation of those conditions to which he had consented, and send plenipotentiaries to begin the conferences with those of the allies on the first day of January. The States-General inveighed against this memorial, as a proof of the French king's insincerity; though he certainly had a right to retract those offers they had formerly rejected. They came to a resolution, that it was absolutely necessary to prosecute the war with vigour; and they wrote pressing letters on the subject to all their allies.

The Parliament of Great Britain being assembled on the fifteenth day of November, the queen in her speech told both Houses, that the enemy had endeavoured, by false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire after peace, to create jealousies among the allies: that God Almighty had been pleased to bless the arms of the confederates with a most remarkable victory, and other successes, which had laid France open to the impression of the allied arms, and consequently rendered peace more necessary to that kingdom than it was at the beginning of the campaign. She insisted upon the expediency of prosecuting the advantages she had gained, by reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power, which had so long threatened the liberties of Europe. The Parliament were as eager and compliant as ever. They presented congratulatory addresses: they thanked the Duke of Marlborough for his signal services; while great part of the nation reproached him with having wantonly sacrificed so many thousand lives to his own private interest and reputation. In less than a month, the Commons granted upwards of six millions for the service of the ensuing year; and established a lottery, with other funds, to answer this enormous supply. On the thirteenth day of December, Mr. Dolben, son to the late Archbishop of York, complained to the House of two sermons preached and published by Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's in Southwark, as containing positions contrary to revolution principles, to the present government, and the Protestant succession. Account of Dr. Sacheverel. Sache-

verel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an overheated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high churchmen; and took all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby, he had held forth in that strain before the judges; on the fifth day of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance; inveighed against the toleration and dissenters; declared the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies, and slightly defended by her false friends: he sounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was published under his protection, extolled by the tories, and circulated all over the nation. The complaint of Mr. Dolben against Sacheverel was seconded in the House of Commons by Sir Peter King and other members. The most violent paragraphs were read; the sermons were voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel, being brought to the bar of the House, acknowledged himself the author of both, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print that which was entitled "The Perils of False Brethren." Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him such encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the House resolved he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into custody. At the same time, in order to demonstrate their own principles, they resolved that the Reverend Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, rector of St. Peter-le-Poor, for having often justified the principles on which her majesty and the nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of the House; and they presented an address to the queen, beseeching her to bestow some dignity in the church on Mr. Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the church and state. The queen returned a civil answer, though she paid no regard to their recommendation. Hoadly was a clergyman of sound understanding, unblemished character, and uncommon moderation, who, in a sermon preached before the lord mayor of London,

had demonstrated the lawfulness of resisting wicked and cruel governors; and vindicated the late Revolution. By avowing such doctrines, he incurred the resentment of the high churchmen, who accused him of having preached up rebellion. Many books were written against the maxims he professed. These he answered; and in the course of the controversy acquitted himself with superior temper, judgment, and solidity of argument. He, as well as Bishop Burnet, and several other prelates, had been treated with great virulence in Sacheverel's sermon; and the lord treasurer was scurrilously abused under the name of Volpone.

The doctor, being impeached at the bar of the Upper House, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refused, and the Commons seemed bent upon prosecuting him with such severity as gave disgust to men of moderate principles. Meanwhile the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church; and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. These assertions were supported, and even credited, by great part of the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared with discontent arising from a scarcity which prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The ministers magnified the dangers to which the church was exposed from dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, which, in a little time, would produce universal famine; and as the immediate encouragers of those Palatine refugees who had been brought over, to the number of six thousand, and maintained by voluntary contributions until they could be conveniently transported into Ireland, and the plantations in America. The charity bestowed upon those unhappy strangers exasperated the poor of England, who felt severely the effects of the dearth, and helped to fill up the measure of popular discontent. The articles against Dr. Sacheverel being exhibited, his person was committed to the deputy-usher of the black rod; but afterwards the Lords admitted him to bail. Then he drew up an answer to the charge, in which he denied some articles, and others he endeavoured to justify or extenuate. The Commons having sent up a replication, declaring they

He is impeached by the Commons.

were ready to prove the charge, the Lords appointed the twenty-seventh day of February for the trial, in Westminster-hall.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial. It lasted three weeks, during which all other business was suspended; and the queen herself was every day present, though in quality of a private spectator. The managers for the Commons were Sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, Sir Peter King, recorder of the city of London, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Thomas Parker, and Mr. Robert Walpole, treasurer of the navy. The doctor was defended by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Phipps, and assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming, "God bless your majesty and the church. We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among these some members of Parliament, who were abused and insulted. They destroyed several meeting-houses; plundered the dwelling-houses of eminent dissenters; and threatened to pull down those of the lord-chancellor, the Earl of Wharton, and the Bishop of Sarum. They even proposed to attack the bank; so that the directors were obliged to send to Whitehall for assistance. The horse and foot guards were immediately sent to disperse the rioters, who fled at their approach. Next day the guards were doubled at Whitehall, and the train-bands of Westminster continued in arms during the whole trial. The Commons entreated the queen, in an address, to take effectual measures for suppressing the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by Papists, non-jurors, and other enemies to her title and government. She expressed a deep sense of their care and concern, as well as a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings. She published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults; and several persons, being apprehended, were afterwards tried for high treason. Two of them were convicted, and sentenced to die; but neither suffered. The Commons presented another address of thanks to her ma-

jesty, for her gracious answer to their first remonstrance. They took this occasion to declare that the prosecution of the Commons against Dr. Henry Sacheverel proceeded only from the indispensable obligation they lay under to vindicate the late happy Revolution, the glory of their royal deliverer, her own title and administration, the present established and Protestant succession, together with the toleration and the quiet of the government. When the doctor's counsel had finished his defence, he himself recited a speech, wherein he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government; and spoke in the most respectful terms of the Revolution and the Protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance in all cases whatsoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and, by many pathetical expressions, endeavoured to excite the compassion of the audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herself, who could not but relish a doctrine so well calculated for the support of regal authority.

On the tenth day of March, the Lords being adjourned to their own house, the Earl of Nottingham proposed the following question, "Whether, in prosecutions by impeachments for high crimes and misdemeanours, by writing or speaking, the particular words supposed to be criminal are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?" The judges, being consulted, were unanimously of opinion that, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both. One of the lords having suggested that the judges had delivered their opinions according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of Parliament, the House resolved, that in impeachments they should proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of Parliament. On the sixteenth day of the month, the queen being in the House incognito, they proceeded to consider whether or not the Commons had made good the articles exhibited against Dr. Sacheverel. The Earl of Wharton observed, that the doctor's speech was a full confutation and condemnation of his sermon: that all he had advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience was false and ridiculous: that the doctrine of passive obedience, as urged by the doctor, was not reconcilable to the practice

*Debates  
upon it in  
the House  
of Lords.*

of churchmen : that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice; and that the queen herself was no lawful sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title, founded upon the Revolution. He was answered by the Lord Haversham in a long speech. Lord Ferrars said, if the doctor was guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried at common law. The Earl of Scarborough observed, the Revolution was a nice point, and above the law : he moved that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider before they gave judgment. Dr. Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, allowed the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion that this maxim ought to be concealed from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist: that the Revolution was not to be boasted of or made a precedent; but that a mantle ought to be thrown over it, and it should be called a vacancy or abdication. He said the original compact were dangerous words, not to be mentioned without great caution: that those who examined the Revolution too nicely were no friends to it; and that there seemed to be a necessity for preaching up non-resistance and passive obedience at that time, when resistance was justified. The Duke of Argyle affirmed, that the clergy in all ages had delivered up the rights and privileges of the people, preaching up the king's power, in order to govern him the more easily; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics. The Earl of Anglesey owned the doctor had preached nonsense, but said that was no crime. The Duke of Leeds distinguished between resistance and revolution; for had not the last succeeded, it would have certainly been rebellion, since he knew of no other but hereditary right. The Bishop of Salisbury justified resistance from the Book of Maccabees: he mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who assisted the Scots, the French, and the States-General, in resisting their different sovereigns, and was supported in this practice both by her Parliaments and her Convocations. He observed, that King Charles I. had assisted the citizens of Rochelle in their rebellion; that Mainwaring incurred a severe censure from the Parliament for having broached the doctrine of the divine right of kings; and that, though this became a favourite maxim after the Restoration, yet its

warmest asserters were the first who pleaded for resistance when they thought themselves oppressed. The Archbishop of York, the Duke of Buckingham, and other leaders of the tory interest, declared that they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense as Sacheverel's sermon; but they did not think him guilty of a misdemeanour. Next day, Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, accused Sacheverel of having made a strange and false representation of the design for a comprehension, which had been set on foot by Archbishop Sanerolt, and promoted by the most eminent divines of the church of England. He was of opinion that some step should be taken for putting a stop to such preaching as, if not timely corrected, might kindle heats and animosities that would endanger both church and state. Dr. Trimnel, Bishop of Norwich, expatiated on the insolence of Sacheverel, who had arraigned Archbishop Grindal, one of the eminent reformers, as a perfidious prelate, for having favoured and tolerated the discipline of Geneva. He enlarged upon the good effects of the toleration. He took notice of Sacheverel's presumption in publishing inflammatory prayers, declaring himself under persecution, while he was prosecuted for offending against the law, by those who in common justice ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and before their lordships, who were justly acknowledged to be the most impartial judges. In discussing the fourth article, the Bishop of Salisbury spoke with great vehemence against Sacheverel, who, by inveighing against the Revolution, toleration, and union, seemed to arraign and attack the queen herself; since her majesty had so great a share in the first; had often declared she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. He affirmed that nothing could be more plain than the doctor's reflecting upon her majesty's ministers; and that he had so well marked out a noble peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet which he would not repeat, that it was not possible to mistake his meaning. Some of the younger peers could not help laughing at this undesigned sarcasm upon the lord treasurer, whom Sacheverel had reviled under the name of Volpone: they exclaimed, "Name him, name him;" and, in all probability, the zealous bishop, who was remarkable for absence of mind and unguarded expressions, would have gratified their request, had not the chancellor, interposing, declared that

no peer was obliged to say more than he should think proper.

After obstinate disputes, and much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; and four-and-thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years; his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the lord mayor and the two sheriffs of London and Middlesex. The Lords likewise voted, that the executioner should commit to the same fire the famous decree passed in the Convocation of the University of Oxford, asserting the absolute authority and indefeasible right of princes. A like sentence was denounced by the Commons upon a book entitled "Collections of Passages referred to by Dr. Sacheverel, in his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment." These he had selected from impious books lately published, and they were read by his counsel as proofs that the church was in danger. The lenity of the sentence passed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great measure owing to the dread of popular resentment, his friends

considered as a victory obtained over a whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations. On the fifth day of April, the queen ordered the Parliament to be prorogued, after having, in her speech to both Houses, expressed her concern for the necessary occasion which had taken up great part of their time towards the latter end of the session. She declared that no prince could have a more true and tender concern for the welfare and prosperity of the church than she had, and should always have; and she said it was very injurious to take a pretence from wicked and malicious libels, to insinuate that the church was in danger by her administration.

The French king, seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, humbled himself again before the allies, and by the means of Petkum, who still corresponded with his ministers, implored the States-General that the negotiation might be resumed. In order to facilitate their consent, he despatched a new project of pacification, in which he promised to renounce his grandson, and to comply with all their other demands, provided the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be re-esta-

He is silenced for three years.

1710.  
Burnet.  
Hare.  
Torcy.  
Feuquieres.  
Hist. of  
the Duke  
of Mul-  
borough.  
Tindal.  
Voltaire.

Conferences  
at Gertruy-  
denburgh.



blished in their estates and dignities. These overtures being rejected, another plan was offered, and communicated to the plenipotentiaries of the emperor and Queen of Great Britain. Then Petkum wrote a letter to the Marquis de Torey intimating, that the allies required his most Christian majesty should declare, in plain and expressive terms, that he consented to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh article, which stipulated a cessation of arms, in case the Spanish monarchy should be delivered to King Charles in the space of two months. He said, the allies would send passports to the French ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article. Louis was even forced to swallow this bitter draught. He signified his consent, and appointed the Mareschal d'Uxelles and the Abbé Polignae his plenipotentiaries. They were not suffered, however, to enter Holland, but were met by the Deputies Buys and Vanderdussen, at Gertruydenburgh. Meanwhile the states desired the Queen of England to send over the Duke of Marlborough, to assist them with his advice in these conferences. The two Houses of Parliament seconded their request in a joint address to her majesty, who told them she had already given directions for his departure; and said she was glad to find they concurred with her in a just sense of the duke's eminent services. Both the letter and the address were procured by the interest of Marlborough, to let the queen see how much that nobleman was considered both at home and abroad. But she was already wholly alienated from him in her heart, and these expedients served only to increase her disgust.

The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification. They were in a manner confined to a small fortified town, and all their conduct narrowly watched. Their accommodation was mean; their letters were opened; and they were daily insulted by injurious libels. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. In vain the plenipotentiaries declared, that the French king could not with decency, or the least regard to his honour, wage war against his own grandson: the deputies insisted upon his effecting the cession of Spain and the Indies to the house of Austria; and submitting to every other article specified in the preliminaries. Nay, they even reserved to themselves a power of making ulterior demands after the preliminaries should be adjusted.

Pride and  
obstinacy of  
the Dutch.

Louis proposed that some small provision should be made for the Duke of Anjou, which might induce him to relinquish Spain the more easily. He mentioned the kingdom of Arragon; and this hint being disagreeable to the allies, he demanded Naples and Sicily. When they urged that Naples was already in possession of the house of Austria, he restricted the provision to Sicily and Sardinia. He offered to deliver up four cautionary towns in Flanders, as a security for Philip's evacuating Spain; and even promised to supply the confederates with a monthly sum of money, to defray the expense of expelling that prince from his dominions, should he refuse to resign them with a good grace. The substance of all the conferences was communicated to Lord Townshend and Count Zinzendorf, the imperial plenipotentiary; but the conduct of the deputies was regulated by the Pensionary Heinsius, who was firmly attached to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, more averse than ever to a pacification. The negotiation lasted from the nineteenth day of March to the twenty-fifth of July, during which term the conferences were several times interrupted, and a great many despatches and new proposals arrived from Versailles. At length the plenipotentiaries returned to France, after having sent a letter to the pensionary, in which they declared that the proposals made by the deputies were unjust and impracticable; and complained of the unworthy treatment to which they had been exposed. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that there might be some lucky incident in the events of war, and that the approaching revolution in the English ministry, of which he was well apprised, would be productive of a more reasonable pacification. The States-General resolved, that the enemy had departed from the foundation on which the negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of Spain and the Indies; and, in short, that France had no other view than to sow and create jealousy and disunion among the allies. Lord Townshend, in a memorial, assured them, that the queen entirely approved their resolution, and all the steps they had taken in the course of the negotiation; and that she was firmly resolved to prosecute the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should accept such terms of peace as might secure the tranquillity of the Christian world.

The conferences did not retard the operations of the cam-

paign. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague on the fifteenth day of March for Tournay, in order to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Maese, in Flanders, and Brabant. On the 20th of April, they suddenly advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines upon which the French had been at work all the winter, hoping by these to cover Douay and other frontier towns, which were threatened by the confederates. The troops left for the defence of the lines retired without opposition. The allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the Duke of Marlborough with his division passed that river, and encamped at Vitri. Prince Eugene remained on the other side, and invested Douay, the enemy retiring towards Cambray. Mareschal Villars still commanded the French army, which was extremely numerous and well appointed, considering the distress of that kingdom. Indeed, the number was augmented by this distress; for many thousands saved themselves from dying of hunger, by carrying arms in the service. The mareschal, having assembled all his forces, passed the Scheldt, and encamped at Bouchain, declaring that he would give battle to the confederates: an alteration was immediately made in the disposition of the allies, and proper precautions taken for his reception. He advanced in order of battle; but having viewed the situation of the confederates, he marched back to the heights of St. Lawrence, where he fixed his camp. His aim was, by continual alarms, to interrupt the siege of Douay, which was vigorously defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Monsieur Albergotti, who made a number of successful sallies, in which the besiegers lost a great number of men. They were likewise repulsed in several assaults; but still proceeded with unremitted vigour, until the besieged, being reduced to the last extremity, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-sixth of June, fifty days after the trenches had been opened. The generals, finding it impracticable to attack the enemy, who were posted within strong lines from Arras towards Miramont, resolved to besiege Bethune, which was invested on the fifteenth day of July, and surrendered on the twenty-ninth of August. Villars marched out of his intrenchments with a view to raise the siege; but he did not think proper to hazard an engagement; some warm skirmishes, however, happened between the foragers of the two

Douay besieged and taken by the confederates, as well as Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

armies. After the reduction of Bethune, the allies besieged at one time the towns of Aire and St. Venant, which were taken without much difficulty. Then the armies broke up, and marched into winter quarters.

The campaign on the Rhine was productive of no military event; nor was any thing of consequence transacted in Piedmont. The Duke of Savoy being indisposed and out of humour, the command of the forces still continued vested in Count Thaurin, who endeavoured to pass the Alps, and penetrate into Dauphiné; but the Duke of Berwick had cast up intrenchments in the mountains, and taken such precautions to guard them, as baffled all the attempts of the imperial general. Spain was much more fruitful of military incidents. The horse and dragoons in the army of King Charles, headed by General Stanhope, attacked the whole cavalry of the enemy at Almennara. Stanhope charged in person, and with his own hand slew General Amessaga, who commanded the guards of Philip. The Spanish horse were entirely routed, together with nine battalions that escaped by favour of the darkness; and the main body of the army retired with precipitation to Lerida. General Staremberg pursued them to Saragossa, where he found them drawn up in order of battle; and an engagement ensuing on the ninth day of August, the enemy were totally defeated; five thousand of their men were killed, seven thousand taken, together with all their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. King Charles entered Saragossa in triumph, while Philip with the wreck of his army retreated to Madrid. Having sent his queen and son to Victoria, he retired to Valladolid, in order to collect his scattered forces, so as to form another army. The good fortune of Charles was of short duration. Stanhope proposed that he should immediately secure Pampeluna, the only pass by which the French king could send troops to Spain; but this salutary scheme was rejected. King Charles proceeded to Madrid, which was deserted by all the grandees; and he had the mortification to see that the Castilians were universally attached to his competitor.

While his forces continued cantoned in the neighbourhood of Toledo, the King of France, at the request of Philip, sent the Duke de Vendome to take the command of the Spanish army, which was at the same time

King Charles obtains a victory over Philip at Saragossa, and enters Madrid.

Battle of Villaviciosa.

reinforced by detachments of French troops. Vendome's reputation was so high, and his person so beloved by the soldiery, that his presence was almost equivalent to an army. A great number of volunteers immediately assembled to signalize themselves under the eye of this renowned general. The Castilians were inspired with fresh courage, and made surprising efforts in favour of their sovereign: so that in less than three months after his defeat at Saragossa he was in a condition to go in quest of his rival. Charles, on the other hand, was totally neglected by the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, which took no steps to supply his wants, or enable him to prosecute the advantages he had gained. In the beginning of November his army marched back to Saragossa, and was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Cifuentes, where Staremborg established his head-quarters. General Stanhope, with the British forces, was quartered in the little town of Brihuega, where, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, he found himself suddenly surrounded by the whole Spanish army. As the place was not tenable, and he had very little ammunition, he was obliged, after a short but vigorous resistance, to capitulate, and surrender himself and all his forces prisoners of war, to the amount of two thousand men, including three lieutenant-generals, one major-general, one brigadier, with all the colonels and officers of the respective regiments. He was greatly censured for having allowed himself to be surprised; for if he had placed a guard upon the neighbouring hills, according to the advice of General Carpenter, he might have received notice of the enemy's approach time enough to retire to Cifuentes. Thither he had detached his aide-du-camp with an account of his situation, on the appearance of the Spanish army; and Staremborg immediately assembled his forces. About eleven in the forenoon they began to march towards Brihuega; but the roads were so bad, that night overtook them before they reached the heights in the neighbourhood of that place. Staremborg is said to have loitered away his time unnecessarily from motives of envy to the English general, who had surrendered before his arrival. The troops lay all night on their arms near Villaviciosa, and on the twenty-ninth were attacked by the enemy, who doubled their number. Staremborg's left wing was utterly defeated, all the infantry that composed it having been either cut in pieces or taken; but the victors, instead of following

the blow, began to plunder the baggage; and Staremborg with his right wing fought their left with surprising valour and perseverance till night. Then they retired in disorder, leaving him master of the field of battle and of all their artillery. Six thousand of the enemy were killed on the spot; but the allies had suffered so severely that the general could not maintain his ground. He ordered the cannon to be nailed up, and marched to Saragossa, from whence he retired to Catalonia. Thither he was pursued by the Duke de Vendome, who reduced Balaguer, in which he had left a garrison, and compelled him to take shelter under the walls of Barcelona. At this period the Duke de Noailles invested Gironne, which he reduced, notwithstanding the severity of the weather; so that Philip, from a fugitive, became in three months absolute master of the whole Spanish monarchy, except the province of Catalonia, and even that lay open to his incursions. Nothing of consequence was achieved on the side of Portugal, from whence the Earl of Galway returned to England by the queen's permission. The operations of the British fleet, during this summer, were so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve notice. Sir John Norris commanded in the Mediterranean, and with a view to support the Camisars, who were in arms in the Cevennes, sailed to Port Cette, within a league of Marsilles, and at the distance of fifteen from the insurgents. The place surrendered, without opposition, to about seven hundred men that landed under the command of Major-General Saissan, a native of Languedoc. He likewise made himself master of the town and castle of Ayde; but the Duke de Noailles advancing with a body of forces to join the Duke de Roquelaire who commanded in those parts, the English abandoned their conquests, and re-embarked with precipitation. After the battle of Pultowa the Czar of Muscovy reduced all Livonia; but he and King Augustus agreed to a neutrality for Pomerania. The King of Sweden continued at Bender, and the grand signor interested himself so much in favour of that prince as to declare war against the Emperor of Russia. Hostilities were carried on between the Swedish and Danish fleets, with various success. The malecontents in Hungary sustained repeated losses during the summer; but they were encouraged to maintain the war by the rupture between the Ottoman Porte and Russia. They were flattered with hopes of auxiliaries from the Turks; and expected engineers and money from the French monarch.

In England, the effects of those intrigues which had been formed against the whig ministers began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel had excited a popular spirit of aversion to those who favoured the dissenters. The whig ministry disgraced. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were presented to the queen, censuring all resistance as a rebellious doctrine, founded upon anti-monarchical and republican principles. At the same time counter-addresses were procured by the whigs, extolling the Revolution, and magnifying the conduct of the present Parliament. The queen began to express her attachment to the tories, by mortifying the Duke of Marlborough. Upon the death of the Earl of Essex she wrote to the general, desiring that the regiment which had been commanded by that nobleman should be given to Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, who had supplanted the Duchess of Marlborough in the queen's friendship, and was, in effect, the source of this political revolution. The duke represented to her majesty, in person, the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of such a young officer over the heads of a great many brave men, who had exhibited repeated proofs of valour and capacity. He expostulated with his sovereign on this extraordinary mark of partial regard to the brother of Mrs. Masham, which he could not help considering as a declaration against himself and his family, who had so much cause to complain of that lady's malice and ingratitude. To this remonstrance the queen made no other reply but that he would do well to consult his friends. The Earl of Godolphin enforced his friend's arguments, though without effect; and the duke retired in disgust to Windsor. The queen appeared at council without taking the least notice of his absence, which did not fail to alarm the whole whig faction. Several noblemen ventured to speak to her majesty on the subject, and explain the bad consequences of disobliging a man who had done such eminent services to the nation. She told them his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she retained all her former kindness for his person. Hearing, however, that a popular clamour was raised, and that the House of Commons intended to pass some votes that would be disagreeable to her and her new counsellors, she ordered the Earl of Godolphin to write to the duke to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper, and return to town immediately. Before he received this intimation he had sent a letter to the queen,

desiring she would permit him to retire from business. In answer to this petition, she assured him his suspicions were groundless, and insisted upon his coming to council. The duchess demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her own character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, and retrieve the influence she had lost. She protested, argued, wept, and supplicated: but the queen was too well pleased with her own deliverance from the tyranny of the other's friendship, to incur such slavery for the future. All the humiliation of the duchess served only to render herself the more contemptible. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least sign of emotion, and all she would vouchsafe was a repetition of these words, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none," alluding to an expression in a letter she had received from the duchess. As an additional mortification to the ministry, the office of lord chamberlain was transferred from the Duke of Kent to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimacy of correspondence with Mr. Harley. The interest of the Duke of Marlborough was not even sufficient to prevent the dismissal of his own son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, from the post of secretary of state, in which he was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth.

The queen was generally applauded for thus asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary cabal, by which she had been so long kept in dependence. The Duke of Beaufort went to court on this occasion, and told her majesty he was extremely glad that he could now salute her queen in reality. The whole Whig party were justly alarmed at these alterations. The directors of the bank represented to her majesty the prejudice that would undoubtedly accrue to public credit from a change of the ministry. The emperor and the States-General interposed in this domestic revolution. Their ministers at London presented memorials, explaining in what manner foreign affairs would be influenced by an alteration in the British ministry. The queen assured them that, whatever changes might be made, the Duke of Marlborough should be continued in his employments. In the month of August the Earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer and

The Parliament is dissolved.



under-treasurer. The Earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of Lord Somers: the staff of lord steward being taken from the Duke of Devonshire, was given to the Duke of Buckingham; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and afterwards given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which the queen conferred on the Duke of Ormond. The Earl of Orford withdrew himself from the board of Admiralty; and Mr. George Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole. The command of the forces in Portugal was bestowed upon the Earl of Portmore: the Duke of Hamilton was appointed lord lieutenant of the county-palatine of Lancaster. In a word, there was not one whig left in any office of state, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earnestly dissuaded by his particular friends from taking such a step as might have been prejudicial to the interest of the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen dissolved the whig Parliament, after such precautions were taken as could not fail to influence the new election in favour of the other party.

To this end nothing so effectually contributed as did the trial of Sacheverel, who was used as an instrument and tool to wind and turn the passions of the vulgar. Having been presented to a benefice in North Wales, he went in procession to that country, with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and different noblemen, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was

Meeting of  
the new  
Parliament.

heard but the cry of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverel." The clergy were actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, which seemed to spread like a contagion through all ranks and degrees of people, and had such effect upon the elections for a new Parliament, that very few were returned as members but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the whig administration. Now the queen had the pleasure to see all the offices of state, the lieutenancy of London, the management of corporations, and the direction of both Houses of Parliament, in the hands of the tories. When these met on the twenty-fifth day of November, Mr. Bromley was chosen speaker without opposition. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour, especially in Spain. She declared herself resolved to support the church of England; to preserve the British constitution according to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences; and to employ none but such as were heartily attached to the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The Lords in their address promised to concur in all reasonable measures towards procuring an honourable peace. The Commons were more warm and hearty in their assurances, exhorting her majesty to discountenance all such principles and measures as had lately threatened her royal crown and dignity; measures which, whenever they might prevail, would prove fatal to the whole constitution, both in church and state. After this declaration they proceeded to consider the estimates, and cheerfully granted the supplies for the ensuing year, part of which was raised by two lotteries. In the House of Peers, the Earl of Scarborough moved that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Duke of Marlborough; but the Duke of Argyle made some objections to the motion, and the general's friends, dreading the consequence of putting the question, postponed the consideration of this proposal until the duke should return from the continent. The Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the imperial court: the Earl of Rivers was sent in the same quality to Hanover: Mr. Richard Hill was nominated envoy-extraordinary to the United Provinces, as well as to the council of state appointed for the government of the Spanish Netherlands, in the room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan. Meredith, Macartney, and Honeywood, were deprived of their regiments, because in

their cups they had drunk confusion to the enemies of the Duke of Marlborough.

This nobleman arrived in England towards the latter end of December. He conferred about half an hour in private with the queen, and next morning assisted at a committee of the privy council. Her majesty gave him to understand that he needed not to expect the thanks of the Parliament as formerly; and told him she hoped he would live well with her ministers. He expressed no resentment at the alterations which had been made; but resolved to acquiesce in the queen's pleasure, and retain the command of the army on her own terms. On the second day of January, the queen sent a message to both Houses, intimating that there had been an action in Spain to the disadvantage of King Charles; that the damage having fallen particularly on the English forces, she had given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair the loss, and hoped the Parliament would approve her conduct. Both Houses seized this opportunity of venting their spleen against the old ministry. The history of England is disgraced by the violent conduct of two turbulent factions, which, in their turn, engrossed the administration and legislative power. The parliamentary strain was quite altered. One can hardly conceive how resolutions so widely different could be taken on the same subject, with any shadow of reason and decorum. Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of parliamentary hatred and censure, though no sensible alteration had happened in his conduct or success. That hero, who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, won so many battles, subdued such a number of towns and districts, humbled the pride and checked the ambition of France, secured the liberty of Europe, and, as it were, chained victory to his chariot-wheels, was in a few weeks dwindled into an object of contempt and derision. He was ridiculed in public libels, and reviled in private conversation. Instances were everywhere repeated of his fraud, avarice, and extortion; his insolence, cruelty, ambition, and misconduct: even his courage was called in question; and this consummate general was represented as the lowest of mankind. So unstable is the popularity of every character that fluctuates between two opposite tides of faction.

The Duke of Marlborough insulted and reviled.

Inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain. The Lords, in their answer to the queen's message, declared, that as the misfortune in Spain might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavour to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future. They set on foot an inquiry concerning the affairs of Spain; and the Earl of Peterborough, being examined before the committee, imputed all the miscarriages in the course of that war to the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope. Notwithstanding the defence of Galway, which was clear and convincing, the House resolved, that the Earl of Peterborough had given a faithful and an honourable account of the councils of war in Valencia; that the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, in advising an offensive war, had been the unhappy occasion of the battle of Almanza, the source of our misfortunes in Spain, and one great cause of the disappointment of the expedition to Toulon, concerted with her majesty. They voted that the prosecution of an offensive war in Spain was approved and directed by the ministers, who were therefore justly blamable, as having contributed to all our misfortunes in Spain, and to the disappointment of the expedition against Toulon; that the Earl of Peterborough, during his command in Spain, had performed many great and eminent services; and, if his opinion had been followed, it might have prevented the misfortunes that ensued. Then the Duke of Buckingham moved, that the thanks of the House should be given to the earl for his remarkable and eminent services; and these he actually received from the mouth of the Lord-keeper Harcourt, who took this opportunity to drop some oblique reflections upon the mercenary disposition of the Duke of Marlborough. The House, proceeding in the inquiry, passed another vote, importing, that the late ministry had been negligent in managing the Spanish war, to the great prejudice of the nation. Finding that the Portuguese troops were posted on the right of the English at the battle of Almanza, they resolved that the Earl of Galway, in yielding this point, had acted contrary to the honour of the imperial crown of Great Britain. These resolutions they included in an address to the queen, who had been present during the debates, which were extremely violent: and to every separate vote was attached a severe protest. These were not the proceedings of candour and national

justice, but the ebullitions of party zeal and rancorous animosity.

While the Lords were employed in this inquiry, the Commons examined certain abuses which had crept into the management of the navy; and some censures were passed upon certain persons concerned in contracts for victualling the seamen. The inhabitants of St. Olave's and other parishes presented a petition, complaining that a great number of Palatines inhabiting one house might produce among them a contagious distemper, and in time become a charge to the public, as they were destitute of all visible means of subsistence. This petition had been procured by the tories, that the House of Commons might have another handle for attacking the late ministry. A committee was appointed to inquire upon what invitation or encouragement those Palatines had come to England. The papers relating to this affair being laid before them by the queen's order, and perused, the House resolved, that the inviting and bringing over the poor Palatines of all religions, at the public expense, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the poor, and of dangerous consequence to the constitution in church and state; and that whoever advised their being brought over was an enemy to the queen and kingdom. Animated by the heat of this inquiry, they passed the bill to repeal the act for a general naturalization of all Protestants; but this was rejected in the House of Lords. Another bill was enacted into a law, importing that no person should be deemed qualified for representing a county in Parliament, unless he possessed an estate of six hundred pounds a year; and restricting the qualification of burgess to half that sum. The design of this bill was to exclude trading people from the House of Commons, and to lodge the legislative power with the landholders. A third act passed, permitting the importation of French wine in neutral bottoms; a bill against which the whigs loudly exclaimed as a national evil, and a scandalous compliment to the enemy.

Severe  
votes in the  
House of  
Commons  
against  
those who  
invited over  
the poor  
Palatines.

A violent party in the House of Commons began to look upon Harley as a lukewarm tory, because he would not enter precipitately into all their factious measures: they even began to suspect his principles, when his credit was re-

established by a very singular accident. Guiscard, the French partisan, of whom mention hath already been made, thought himself very ill-rewarded for his services, with a precarious pension of four hundred pounds, which he enjoyed from the queen's bounty. He had been renounced by St. John, the former companion of his pleasures: he had in vain endeavoured to obtain an audience of the queen, with a view to demand more considerable appointments. Harley was his enemy, and all access to her majesty was denied. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. This packet, which he endeavoured to transmit by the way of Portugal, was intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high treason. When the messenger disarmed him in St. James's Park, he exhibited marks of guilty confusion and despair, and begged that he would kill him directly. Being conveyed to the Cockpit, in a sort of frenzy, he perceived a penknife lying upon a table, and took it up without being perceived by the attendants. A committee of council was immediately summoned, and Guiscard brought before them to be examined. Finding that his correspondence with Moreau was discovered, he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John, whom, in all probability, he had resolved to assassinate. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" St. John being out of his reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The instrument broke upon the bone, without penetrating into the cavity: nevertheless, he repeated the blow with such force that the chancellor of the exchequer fell to the ground. Secretary St. John, seeing him fall, cried out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley;" and drew his sword. Several other members followed his example, and wounded Guiscard in several places. Yet he made a desperate defence, until he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror, tumult, and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene occasioned by the bruises he had sustained. This attempt upon the life of Harley by a person who wanted to establish a traitorous correspondence with France, extinguished the suspicions of

Harley  
stabbed at  
the council-  
board by  
Guiscard;  
and created  
Earl of  
Oxford.

those who began to doubt that minister's integrity. The two Houses of Parliament, in an address to the queen, declared their belief that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty and zeal for her service had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. They besought her majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. A proclamation was published, ordering the laws to be strictly put in execution against Papists. When Harley appeared in the House of Commons after his recovery, he was congratulated upon it by the speaker, in a florid and fulsome premeditated speech. An act was passed, decreeing, that an attempt upon the life of a privy councillor should be felony without benefit of clergy. The Earl of Rochester dying, Harley became sole minister, was created Baron of Wigmore, and raised to the rank of earl, by the noble and ancient titles of Oxford and Mortimer: to crown his prosperity, he was appointed lord treasurer, and vested with the supreme administration of affairs.

The Commons empowered certain persons to examine all the grants made by King William, and to report the value of them, as well as the considerations upon which they were made. Upon their report a bill was formed and passed that House; but the Lords rejected it at the first reading. Their next step was to examine the public accounts, with a view to fix an imputation on the Earl of Godolphin. They voted, that above five-and-thirty millions of the money granted by Parliament remained unaccounted for. This sum, however, included some accounts in the reigns of King Charles and King William. One-half of the whole was charged to Mr. Bridges, the paymaster, who had actually accounted for all the money he had received, except about three millions, though these accounts had not passed through the auditor's office. The Commons afterwards proceeded to inquire into the debts of the navy, that exceeded five millions, which, with many other debts, were thrown into one stock, amounting to nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds. A fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of six per cent. until the principal should be dis-

Burnet.  
Quincy.  
Feuquieres.  
Torey.  
Burchet.  
History of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Mil. Hist.  
Conduct  
of the  
Duchess  
of Marl-  
borough.  
Tindal.  
Lives of the  
Admirals.  
Voltaire.

1711.  
Death of  
the Empe-  
ror Joseph.

charged; and with this was granted a monopoly of a projected trade to the South Sea, vested in the proprietors of navy bills, debentures, and other public securities, which were incorporated for this purpose. Such was the origin of the South Sea Company, founded upon a chimerical supposition that the English would be permitted to trade upon the coast of Peru in the Pacific. Perhaps the new ministry hoped to obtain this permission, as an equivalent for their abandoning the interest of King Charles, with respect to his pretensions upon Spain. By this time the Emperor Joseph had died of the small-pox, without male issue; so that his brother's immediate aim was to succeed him on the imperial throne. This event was, on the twentieth day of April, communicated by a message from the queen to both Houses. She told them that the States-General had concurred with her in a resolution to support the house of Austria; and that they had already taken such measures as would secure the election of Charles as head of the empire.

The House of Commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the church, in consequence of an address from the Lower House of Convocation, and a quickening message from the queen, passed a bill for building fifty new churches in the suburbs of London and Westminster, and appropriated for this purpose the duty upon coals, which had been granted for the building of St. Paul's, now finished. This imposition was continued until it should raise the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds. At the close of the session, the Commons presented a remonstrance or representation to the queen, in which they told her, that they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but also discharged the heavy debts of which the nation had so long and justly complained. They said that, in tracing the causes of this debt, they had discovered fraud, embezzlement, and misapplication of the public money: that they who of late years had the management of the treasury were guilty of notorious breach of trust and injustice to the nation, in allowing above thirty millions to remain unaccounted for; a purposed omission that looked like a design to conceal embezzlements. They begged her majesty would give immediate directions for compelling the several impressed accountants speedily to pass their accounts. They expressed their hope that such of the accountants as had neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts ought no

Represent-  
ation by  
the Com-  
mons to  
the queen.



longer to be entrusted with the public money. They affirmed, that from all these evil practices and worse designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into her royal favour, irreparable mischief would have accrued to the public, had not her majesty, in her great wisdom, seasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures, and removed from the administration those who had so ill answered her majesty's favourable opinion, and in so many instances grossly abused the trust reposed in them. They observed that her people could with greater patience have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat her sacred person with undutifulness and disregard. This representation, being circulated through the kingdom, produced the desired effect of inflaming the minds of the people against the late ministry. Such expedients were become necessary for the execution of Oxford's project, which was to put a speedy end to a war that had already subjected the people to grievous oppression, and even accumulated heavy burdens to be transmitted to their posterity. The nation was inspired by extravagant ideas of glory and conquest, even to a rage of war-making; so that the new ministers, in order to dispel those dangerous chimeras, were obliged to take measures for exciting their indignation and contempt against those persons whom they had formerly idolized as their heroes and patriots. On the twelfth day of June, the queen, having given the royal assent to several public and private bills, made an affectionate speech to both Houses. She thanked the Commons, in the warmest expressions, for having complied with all her desires; for having baffled the expectations of her enemies in finding supplies for the service of the ensuing year; in having granted greater sums than were ever given to any prince in one session; and in having settled funds for the payment of the public debts, so that the credit of the nation was restored. She expressed her earnest concern for the succession of the House of Hanover; and her fixed resolution to support and encourage the church of England as by law established. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

Of the Convocation which was assembled with the new Parliament, the Lower House chose Dr. Atterbury their prolocutor. He was an enterprising ecclesiastic, of extensive

learning, acute talents, violently attached to tory principles, and intimately connected with the prime minister, Oxford; so that he directed all the proceedings in the Lower House of Convocation in concert with that minister. The queen, in a letter to the archbishop, signified her hope that the consultations of the clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of loose and profane persons. She sent a licence under the broad seal, empowering them to sit and do business in as ample a manner as ever had been granted since the Reformation. They were ordered to lay before the queen an account of the extensive growth of infidelity and heresy, as well as of other abuses, that necessary measures might be taken for a reformation. The bishops were purposely slighted and overlooked, because they had lived in harmony with the late ministers. A committee being appointed to draw up a representation of the present state of the church and religion, Atterbury undertook the task, and composed a remonstrance that contained the most keen and severe strictures upon the administration, as it had been exercised since the time of the Revolution. Another was penned by the bishops in more moderate terms; and several regulations were made, but in none of these did the two Houses agree. They concurred, however, in censuring some tenets favouring Arianism, broached and supported by Mr. Whiston, mathematical professor in Cambridge. He had been expelled the university, and wrote a vindication of himself, dedicated to the Convocation. The archbishop doubted whether this assembly could proceed against a man for heresy: the judges were consulted, and the majority of them gave in their opinion that the Convocation had a jurisdiction. Four of them professed the contrary sentiment, which they maintained from the statutes made at the Reformation. The queen, in a letter to the bishops, said, that as there was now no doubt of their jurisdiction, she expected they would proceed in the matter before them. Fresh scruples arising, they determined to examine the book, without proceeding against the author, and this was censured accordingly. An extract of the sentence was sent to the queen; but she did not signify her pleasure on the subject, and the affair remained in suspense. Whiston published a work in four volumes, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining that the apostolical constitutions were not only canonical, but also preferable in point of authority to the epistles and the gospels

Proceedings  
in the Con-  
vocation.

The new ministry had not yet determined to supersede the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army. This was a step which could not be taken without giving umbrage to the Dutch and other allies. He therefore set out for Holland in the month of February, after the queen had assured him that he might depend upon the punctual payment of the forces. Having conferred with the deputies of the states about the operations of the campaign, he, about the middle of April, assembled the army at Orchies, between Lisle and Douay; while Mareschal de Villars drew together the French troops in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras. Louis had by this time depopulated as well as impoverished his kingdom; yet his subjects still flocked to his standard with surprising spirit and attachment. Under the pressure of extreme misery, they uttered not one complaint of their sovereign, but imputed all their calamities to the pride and obstinacy of the allies. Exclusive of all the other impositions that were laid upon that people, they consented to pay the tenth penny of their whole substance; but all their efforts of loyalty and affection to their prince would have been ineffectual, had not the merchants of the kingdom, by the permission of Philip, undertaken repeated voyages to the South Sea, from whence they brought home immense treasures; while the allies took no steps for intercepting these supplies, though nothing could have been more easy for the English than to deprive the enemy of this great resource, and convert it to their own advantage. Had a squadron of ships been annually employed for this purpose, the subjects of France and Spain must have been literally starved, and Louis obliged to submit to such terms as the confederates might have thought proper to impose. Villars had found means to assemble a very numerous army, with which he encamped behind the river Sanset, in such an advantageous post as could not be attacked with any prospect of success. Meanwhile the Duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and formed his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by Prince Eugene on the twenty-third day of May. This general, however, did not long remain in the Netherlands. Understanding that detachments had been made from the army of Villars to the Rhine, and that the Elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, the prince, by order from the court of Vienna,

The Duke of Marlborough continues to command the allied army.

marched towards the Upper Rhine with the imperial and Palatine troops, to secure Germany. The Duke of Marlborough, repassing the Scarpe, encamped in the plains of Lens, from whence he advanced towards Aire, as if he had intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. These lines, beginning at Bouchain on the Schelde, were continued along the Sanset and the Scarpe to Arras, and thence along the Upper Scarpe to Canché. They were defended by redoubts and other works in such a manner that Villars judged they were impregnable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough.

This nobleman, advancing within two leagues of the French lines, ordered a great number of fascines to be made, declaring he would attack them the next morning; so that Villars drew all his forces on that side, in full expectation of an engagement. The duke, on the supposition that the passages of the Sanset by Arleux would be left unguarded, had ordered the Generals Cadogan and Hompesch to assemble twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons from Douay and the neighbouring garrisons, to march to Arleux, where they should endeavour to pass the Sanset. Brigadier Sutton was detached with the artillery and pontoons, to lay bridges over the canal near Goulezén, and over the Scarpe at Vitry, while the duke, with the whole confederate army, began his march for the same place about nine in the evening. He proceeded with such expedition, that by five in the morning he passed the river at Vitry. There he received intelligence that Hompesch had taken possession of the passes on the Sanset and Schelde without opposition, the enemy having withdrawn their detachments from that side, just as he had imagined. He himself, with his vanguard of fifty squadrons, hastened his march towards Arleux, and before eight of the clock arrived at Bacá-Bachuel, where in two hours he was joined by the heads of the columns into which he had divided his infantry. Villars, being certified of his intention, about two in the morning decamped with his whole army, and putting himself at the head of the king's household troops, marched all night with such expedition, that about eleven in the forenoon he was in sight of the Duke of Marlborough, who had by this time joined Count Hompesch. The French general immediately retreated to the main body of his army, which had advanced to the high road between Arras and Cambray,

He surprises  
the French  
lines.

while the allies encamped upon the Schelde, between Oisy and Estrun, after a march of ten leagues without halting, scarcely to be paralleled in history. By this plan, so happily executed, the Duke of Marlborough fairly outwitted Villars, and, without the loss of one man, entered the lines which he had pronounced impregnable. This stroke of the English general was extolled as a masterpiece of military skill, while Villars was exposed to the ridicule even of his own officers. The field deputies of the States-General proposed that he should give battle to the enemy, who passed the Schelde at Crevecœur, in order to cover Bouchain: but the duke would not hazard an engagement, considering how much the army was fatigued by the long march; and that any misfortune, while they continued within the French lines, might be fatal. His intention was to besiege Bouchain; an enterprise that was deemed impracticable, inasmuch as the place was situated in a morass, strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison, in the neighbourhood of an army superior in number to that of the allies. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the dissuasions of his own friends, he resolved to undertake the siege; and, in the mean time, despatched Brigadier Sutton to England, with an account of his having passed the French lines; which was not at all agreeable to his enemies. They had prognosticated that nothing would be done during this campaign, and began to insinuate that the duke could strike no stroke of importance without the assistance of Prince Eugene. They now endeavoured to lessen the glory of his success; and even taxed him with having removed his camp from a convenient situation to a place where the troops were in danger of starving. Nothing could be more provoking than this scandalous malevolence to a great man who had done so much honour to his country, and was then actually exposing his life in her service.

On the tenth day of August Bouchain was invested, and the Duke of Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost extent of his vigilance and capacity, well <sup>Reduces</sup> <sup>Bouchain.</sup> knowing the difficulties of the undertaking, and how much his reputation would depend upon his success. Villars had taken every precaution that his skill and experience could suggest, to baffle the endeavours of the English general. He had reinforced the garrison to the number of six thousand chosen men, commanded by officers of

known courage and ability. He made some efforts to raise the siege; but they were rendered ineffectual by the consummate prudence and activity of the Duke of Marlborough. Then he laid a scheme for surprising Douay, which likewise miscarried. If we consider that the English general, in the execution of his plan, was obliged to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, throw bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, provide for the security of convoys against a numerous army on one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, we must allow this was the boldest enterprise of the whole war: that it required all the fortitude, skill, and resolution of a great general, and all the valour and intrepidity of the confederate troops, who had scarcely ever exhibited such amazing proofs of courage upon any other occasion as they now displayed at the siege of Bouchain. In twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and this conquest was the last military exploit performed by the Duke of Marlborough: the breaches of Bouchain were no sooner repaired than the opposite armies began to separate, and the allied forces were quartered in the frontier towns, that they might be at hand to take the field early in the spring. They were now in possession of the Maese, almost as far as the Sambre; of the Schelde from Tournay; and of the Lys as far as it is navigable. They had reduced Spanish Guelderland, Limburg, Brabant, Flanders, and the greatest part of Hainault: they were masters of the Scarpe; and, by the conquest of Bouchain, they had opened to themselves a way into the very bowels of France. All these acquisitions were owing to the valour and conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who now returned to the Hague, and arrived in England about the middle of November.

The queen had conferred the command of her forces in Spain upon the Duke of Argyle, who was recalled from the service in Flanders for that purpose. He had long been at variance with the Duke of Marlborough; a circumstance which recommended him the more strongly to the ministry. He landed at Barcelona on the twenty-ninth of May, and found the British troops in the utmost distress for want of subsistence. The treasurer had promised to supply him liberally; the Commons had granted one million five hundred thousand pounds

The Duke of Argyle commands the British troops in Spain.

for that service. All their hopes of success were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom; and indeed the army commanded by the Duke de Vendome was in such a wretched condition, that if Staremborg had been properly supported by the allies, he might have obtained signal advantages. The Duke of Argyle, having waited in vain for the promised remittances, was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the British troops could take the field. At length Staremborg advanced towards the enemy, who attacked him at the Pass of Prato del Rey, where they were repulsed with considerable damage. After this action the Duke of Argyle was seized with a violent fever, and conveyed back to Barcelona. Vendome invested the castle of Cardona, which was vigorously defended till the end of December, when a detachment, being sent to the relief of the place, defeated the besiegers, killed two thousand on the spot, and took all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage. Staremborg was unable to follow the blow: the Duke of Argyle wrote pressing letters to the ministry, and loudly complained that he was altogether unsupported: but all his remonstrances were ineffectual: no remittances arrived; and he returned to England without having been able to attempt any thing of importance. In September, King Charles, leaving his queen at Barcelona, set sail for Italy, and at Milan had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, where all disputes were compromised. That prince had forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine; but he suddenly halted in the middle of his career, and after a short campaign repassed the mountains. Prince Eugene, at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Frankfort from the designs of the enemy, and Charles was unanimously chosen emperor; the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria having been excluded from voting, because they lay under the ban of the empire. The war between the Ottoman Porte and the Muscovites was of short duration. The czar advanced so far into Moldavia that he was cut off from all supplies, and altogether in the power of his enemy. In this emergency he found means to corrupt the grand vizir in private, while in public he proposed articles of peace that were accepted. The King of Sweden, who was in the Turkish army, charged the vizir with treachery, and that minister was actually disgraced. The grand signor threatened to renew the war; but he was appeased by the czar's surrendering Asoph.

King  
Charles  
elected  
emperor.

The English ministry had conceived great expectations from an expedition against Quebec and Placentia, in North America, planned by Colonel Nicholson, who had taken possession of Nova Scotia, and garrisoned Port Royal, to which he gave the name of Annapolis. He had brought four Indian chiefs to England, and represented the advantages that would redound to the nation in point of commerce, should the French be expelled from North America. The ministers relished the proposal. A body of five thousand men was embarked in transports, under the command of Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham; and they sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of May, with a strong squadron of ships, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker. At Boston, in New England, they were joined by two regiments of provincials; and about four thousand men, consisting of American planters, Palatines, and Indians, rendezvoused at Albany, in order to march by land into Canada, while the fleet sailed up the river of that name. On the twenty-first day of August, they were exposed to a violent storm, and driven among rocks, where eight transports perished, with about eight hundred men. The admiral immediately sailed back to Spanish-river bay, where it was determined in a council of war, that as the fleet and forces were victualled for ten weeks only, and they could not depend upon a supply of provisions from New England, they should return home, without making any further attempt. Such was the issue of this paltry expedition, entrusted to the direction of an officer without talents and experience.

In the Irish Parliament held during the summer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers supported the tory interest, while the Commons expressed the warmest attachment to revolution principles. The two Houses made strenuous representations, and passed severe resolutions against each other. After the session, Sir Constantine Phipps, the chancellor, and General Ingoldsby, were appointed justices in the absence of the Duke of Ormond, who returned to England in the month of November. In Scotland the Jacobites made no scruple of professing their principles and attachment to the pretender. The Duchess of Gordon presented the faculty of advocates with a silver medal, representing the Chevalier de St. George; and on the reverse the British islands, with the motto "*Reddite.*" After some debate, it was voted by a

Insolence  
of the  
Jacobites  
in Scotland.



majority of sixty-three voices against twelve, that the duchess should be thanked for this token of her regard. This task was performed by Dundas of Arnistoun, who thanked her grace for having presented them with a medal of their sovereign lord the king; hoping, and being confident, that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the faculty with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, upon the finishing rebellion, usurping tyranny, and whiggery. An account of this transaction being laid before the queen, the lord advocate was ordered to inquire into the particulars. Then the faculty were so intimidated that they disowned Dundas, and Horne his accomplice. They pretended that the affair of the medal had been transacted by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent; and by a solemn act they declared their attachment to the queen and the Protestant succession. The court was satisfied with this atonement: but the resident from Hanover having presented a memorial to the queen, desiring that Dundas and his associates might be prosecuted, the government removed Sir David Dalrymple from his office of lord advocate, on pretence of his having been too remiss in prosecuting those delinquents; and no farther inquiry was made into the affair.

For some time a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure: namely, to mortify the whigs and the Dutch, whom they detested, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution. They foresaw the risk they would run by entering into such measures, should ever the opposite faction regain the ascendancy: they knew the whigs would employ all their art and influence, which was very powerful, in obstructing the peace, and in raising a popular clamour against the treaty. But their motives for treating were such as prompted them to undervalue all those difficulties and dangers. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain as would silence all detraction. They did not doubt of being able to maintain the superiority which they had acquired in Parliament; and perhaps some of them cherished views in favour of the pretender, whose succession to the crown would

A negotiation set on foot between the courts of France and England.

have effectually established their dominion over the opposite party. The Earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire of peace, representing the impossibility of a private negotiation, as the ministry was obliged to act with the utmost circumspection, and desiring that Louis would propose to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences, in which case the English plenipotentiaries should have such instructions that it would be impossible for the States-General to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. This intimation was delivered by one Gualtier, an obscure priest, who acted as chaplain to Count Gallas, the imperial ambassador, and had been employed as a spy by the French ministry, since the commencement of hostilities. His connexion with Lord Jersey was by means of that nobleman's lady, who professed the Roman Catholic religion. His message was extremely agreeable to the court of Versailles. He returned to London, with a letter of compliment from the Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Jersey, in which that minister assured him of his master's sincere inclination for peace, though he was averse to a renewal of the conferences with the States-General. Gualtier wrote a letter to Versailles, desiring, in the name of the English ministry, that his most Christian majesty would communicate to them his proposals for a general peace, which they would communicate to the States-General, that they might negotiate in concert with their allies. A general answer being made to this intimation, Gualtier made a second journey to Versailles, and brought over a memorial, which was immediately transmitted to Holland. In the mean time the pensionary endeavoured to renew the conferences in Holland. Petkum wrote to the French ministry, that if his majesty would resume the negotiation, in concert with the Queen of Great Britain, he should certainly have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Dutch deputies. This proposal Louis declined, at the desire of the English ministers.

The States-General, having perused the memorial, assured Queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace; but they expressed a desire that the French king would communicate a more particular plan for securing the interests of the allied powers, and for settling the repose of Europe. Gualtier was once more sent to Versailles, accom-

Prior is  
sent to  
Fontaine-  
bleau.

panied by Mr. Prior, who had resided in France as secretary to the embassies of the Earls of Portland and Jersey. This gentleman had acquired some reputation by his poetical talents; was a man of uncommon ability, insinuating address, and perfectly devoted to the tory interest. He was empowered to communicate the preliminary demands of the English; to receive the answer of the French king; and demand whether or not King Philip had transmitted a power of treating to his grandfather. He arrived incognito at Fontainebleau, and presented the queen's memorial, in which she demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire; a security for the Dutch commerce, and a general satisfaction to all her allies. She required that the strong places taken from the Duke of Savoy should be restored; and that he should possess such towns and districts in Italy as had been ceded to him in treaties between him and his allies: that Louis should acknowledge Queen Anne and the Protestant succession; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; and agree to a new treaty of commerce: that Gibraltar and Port Mahon should be yielded to the crown of England: that the negro trade in America, at that time carried on by the French, should be ceded to the English, together with some towns on that continent, where the slaves might be refreshed. She expected security that her subjects trading to Spain should enjoy all advantages granted by that crown to the most favoured nation; that she should be put in possession of Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, either by way of restitution or cession; and that both nations should continue to enjoy whatever territories they might be possessed of in North America at the ratification of the treaties. She likewise insisted upon a security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head. Her majesty no longer insisted upon Philip's being expelled from the throne of Spain by the arms of his own grandfather. She now perceived that the exorbitant power of the house of Austria would be as dangerous to the liberty of Europe, as ever that of the family of Bourbon had been in the zenith of its glory. She might have remembered the excessive power, the insolence, the ambition of Charles V. and Philip II., who had enslaved so many countries, and embroiled all Europe. She was sincerely desirous of peace, from motives of humanity and compassion to her subjects and fellow-creatures: she was

eagerly bent upon procuring such advantages to her people as would enable them to discharge the heavy load of debt under which they laboured, and recompense them in some measure for the blood and treasure they had so lavishly expended in the prosecution of the war. These were the sentiments of a Christian princess; of an amiable and pious sovereign, who bore a share in the grievances of her subjects, and looked upon them with the eyes of maternal affection. She thought she had the better title to insist upon those advantages, as they had been already granted to her subjects in a private treaty with King Charles.

As Prior's powers were limited in such a manner that he could not negotiate, Mr. Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen to the board of trade, accompanied the English minister to London, with full power to settle the preliminaries of the treaty. On his arrival in London, the queen immediately commissioned the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Jersey, Dartmouth, Oxford, and Mr. St. John, to treat with him; and the conferences were immediately begun. After long and various disputes, they agreed upon certain preliminary articles, which, on the eighth day of October, were signed by the French minister, and by the two secretaries of state, in consequence of a written order from her majesty. Then Menager was privately introduced to the queen at Windsor. She told him she was averse to war; that she would exert all her power to conclude a speedy peace; that she should be glad to live upon good terms with the King of France, to whom she was so nearly allied in blood: she expressed her hope that there would be a closer union after the peace between them, and between their subjects, cemented by a perfect correspondence and friendship. The Earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary the proposals of peace which France had made; to signify the queen's approbation of them, and propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The English ministers now engaged in an intimate correspondence with the court of Versailles; and Mareschal Tallard, being released from his confinement at Nottingham, was allowed to return to his own country on his parole. After the departure of Menager, the preliminaries were communicated to Count Gallas, the emperor's

Menager  
arrives pri-  
vately in  
England.

minister, who, in order to inflame the minds of the people, caused them to be translated, and inserted in one of the daily papers. This step was so much resented by the queen, that she sent a message, desiring he would come no more to court; but that he might leave the kingdom as soon as he should think proper. He took the hint, and retired accordingly; but the queen gave the emperor to understand that any other minister he should appoint would be admitted by her without hesitation.

The states of Holland, alarmed at the preliminaries, sent over Buys, as envoy-extraordinary, to intercede with the queen that she would alter her resolutions; but she continued steady to her purpose; and the Earl of Strafford demanded the immediate concurrence of the states, declaring in the queen's name that she would look upon any delay, on their part, as a refusal to comply with her propositions. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the first day of January. They granted passports to the French ministers; while the queen appointed Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, and the Earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiaries at the congress. Charles, the new emperor, being at Milan when he received a copy of the preliminaries, wrote circular letters to the electors and the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their engagements to the grand alliance. He likewise desired the States-General to join counsels with him in persuading the Queen of England to reject the proposals of France, and prosecute the war; or at least to negotiate on the foundation of the first preliminaries, which had been signed by the Marquis de Torcy. He wrote a letter to the same purpose to the Queen of Great Britain, who received it with the most mortifying indifference. No wonder that he should zealously contend for the continuance of a war, the expense of which she and the Dutch had hitherto almost wholly defrayed. The new preliminaries were severely attacked by the whigs, who ridiculed and reviled the ministry in word and writing. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to-day published by one faction, and to-morrow answered by the other. They contained all the insinuations of malice and contempt, all the bitterness of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination. In the midst of this contention the queen despatched the Earl of Rivers to Hanover, with an assurance to the elector that his succession to the

The French king's proposals disagreeable to the allies.

crown should be effectually ascertained in the treaty. The Earl brought back an answer in writing; but, at the same time, his electoral highness ordered Baron de Bothmar, his envoy in England, to present a memorial to the queen, representing the pernicious consequences of Philip's remaining in possession of Spain and the West Indies. This remonstrance the baron published, by way of appeal to the people, and the whigs extolled it with the highest encomiums; but the queen and her ministers resented this step as an officious and inflammatory interposition.

The proposals of peace made by the French king were disagreeable even to some individuals of the tory party; and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that interest, agreed with the whigs to make a remonstrance against the preliminary articles. The court, being apprised of their intention, prorogued the Parliament till the seventh day of December, in expectation of the Scottish peers, who would cast the balance in favour of the ministry. In her speech at the opening of the session, she told them that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congress; and that the States-General had expressed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief concern should be to secure the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation which a tender and affectionate sovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain satisfaction for all her allies. She observed, that the most effectual way to procure an advantageous peace would be to make preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. She recommended unanimity, and prayed God would direct their consultations. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Nottingham, who had now associated himself with the whigs, inveighed against the preliminaries as captious and insufficient, and offered a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, representing to her majesty that, in the opinion of the House, no peace could be safe or honourable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies should be allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon. A violent debate ensued, in the course of which the Earl of Anglesey represented the necessity of easing the nation of the burdens incurred by an expensive war. He affirmed that a good peace might have been procured immediately after the battle

Violent debates upon them in the House of Lords.

of Ramillies, if it had not been prevented by some persons who prolonged the war for their own private interest. This insinuation was levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, who made a long speech in his own vindication. He bowed to the place where the queen sat incognito; and appealed to her, whether, while he had the honour to serve her majesty as general and plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed her and her council of all the proposals of peace which had been made; and had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject. He declared, upon his conscience, and in the presence of the Supreme Being, before whom he expected soon to appear, that he was ever desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from entertaining any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. At last the question being put, whether the Earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address, it was carried in the affirmative by a small majority. The address was accordingly presented, and the queen, in her answer, said, she should be very sorry any one could think she would not do her utmost to recover Spain and the West Indies from the house of Bourbon. Against this advice, however, several peers protested, because there was no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks; and because they looked upon it as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In the address of the Commons there was no such article; and therefore the answer they received was warm and cordial.

The Duke of Hamilton claiming a seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Brandon, a title he had lately received, was opposed by the anti-courtiers, who pretended to foresee great danger to the constitution from admitting into the House a greater number of Scottish peers than the act of union allowed. Counsel was heard upon the validity of his patent. They observed that no objection could be made to the queen's prerogative in conferring honours; and that all the subjects of the united kingdom were equally capable of receiving honour. The House of Lords had already decided the matter, in admitting the Duke of Queensberry upon his being created Duke of Dover. The debate was managed with great ability on both sides: the Scottish peers united in defence of the Duke's claim; and the court exerted its

The Duke of Hamilton's title of Duke of Brandon disallowed. Bill against occasional conformity passes.

whole strength to support the patent. Nevertheless, the question being put, whether Scottish peers, created peers of Great Britain since the union, had a right to sit in that House, it was carried in the negative by a majority of five voices, though not without a protest signed by the lords in the opposition. The Scottish peers were so incensed at this decision that they drew up a representation to the queen, complaining of it as an infringement of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland. The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the Earl of Nottingham, in more moderate terms than those that had been formerly rejected; and it passed both Houses by the connivance of the whigs, upon the earl's promise, that if they would consent to this measure, he would bring over many friends to join them in matters of greater consequence. On the twenty-second day of December, the queen, being indisposed, granted a commission to the lord keeper, and some other peers, to give the royal assent to this bill, and another for the land-tax. The Duke of Devonshire obtained leave to bring in a bill for giving precedence of all peers to the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as the Duke of Cambridge. An address was presented to the queen, desiring she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries to consult with the ministers of the allies in Holland before the opening of the congress, that they might concert the necessary measures for proceeding with unanimity, the better to obtain the great ends proposed by her majesty.

The commissioners for examining the public accounts having discovered that the Duke of Marlborough had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from the contractors of bread to the army, the queen declared in council that she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might be impartially examined. This declaration was imparted to him in a letter under her own hand, in which she took occasion to complain of the treatment she had received. She probably alluded to the insolence of his duchess; the subjection in which she had been kept by the late ministry; and the pains lately taken by the whigs to depreciate her conduct, and thwart her measures with respect to the peace. The duke wrote an answer to her majesty, vindicating himself from the charge which had been brought against his character; and his two daughters,

Duke of  
Marlbo-  
rough dis-  
missed  
from all his  
employ-  
ments.



the Countess of Sunderland and the Lady Railton, resigned their places of ladies in the bedchamber. The ministry, in order to ascertain a majority in the House of Lords, persuaded the queen to take a measure which nothing but necessity could justify. She created twelve peers at once,\* and on the second of January they were introduced into the Upper House without opposition. The lord keeper delivered to the House a message from the queen, desiring they would adjourn to the fourteenth day of the month. The anti-courtiers alleged that the queen could not send a message to any one House to adjourn, but ought to have directed it to both Houses. This objection produced a debate, which was terminated in favour of the court by the weight of the twelve new peers.

At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, with a letter to the queen from the emperor, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war. His errand was far from being agreeable to the ministry; and they suspected that his real aim was to manage intrigues among the discontented party, who opposed the peace. Nevertheless, he was treated with that respect which was due to his quality and eminent talents. The ministers, the nobility, and officers of distinction, visited him at his arrival. He was admitted to an audience of the queen, who received him with great complacency. Having perused the letter which he delivered, she expressed her concern that her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed extraordinary respect for the Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The lord treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, declared that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life,

Prince  
Eugene  
of Savoy  
arrives in  
England.

\* Lord Compton and Lord Bruce, sons of the Earls of Northampton and Aylesbury, were called up by writ to the House of Peers. The other ten were these: Lord Duplin, of the kingdom of Scotland, created Baron Hay of Bedwardin, in the county of Hereford; Lord Viscount Windsor, of Ireland, made Baron Mountjoy, in the Isle of Wight; Henry Paget, son of Lord Paget, created Baron Burton, in the county of Stafford; Sir Thomas Mansel, Baron Mansel, of Margam, in the county of Glamorgan; Sir Thomas Willoughby, Baron Middleton, of Middleton, in the county of Warwick; Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron Trevor, of Bromham, in the county of Bedford; George Granville, Baron Lansdown, of Bideford, in the county of Devon; Samuel Masham, Baron Masham, of Oats, in the county of Essex; Thomas Foley, Baron Foley, of Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester; and Allen Bathurst, Baron Bathurst, of Bathelsden, in the county of Bedford. — On the first day of their being introduced, when the question was put about adjourning, the Earl of Wharton asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman?"

since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of the age. The prince is said to have replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordship;" alluding to the disgrace of Marlborough, whom the earl's intrigues had deprived of all military command. When Bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke, and in particular mentioned one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest commendation that could be bestowed upon him, as it implied that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct. While the nobility of both parties vied with each other in demonstrations of respect for this noble stranger; while he was adored by the whigs, and admired by the people, who gazed at him in crowds when he appeared in public; even in the midst of all these caresses, party riots were excited to insult his person, and some scandalous reflections upon his mother were inserted in one of the public papers. The queen treated him with distinguished marks of regard; and on her birthday presented him with a sword worth five thousand pounds. Nevertheless, she looked upon him as a patron and friend of that turbulent faction to which she owed so much disquiet. She knew he had been pressed to come over by the whig noblemen, who hoped his presence would inflame the people to some desperate attempt upon the new ministry: she was not ignorant that he held private conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Somers, Halifax, and all the chiefs of that party; and that he entered into a close connexion with the Baron de Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy, who had been very active in fomenting the disturbances of the people.

Her majesty, who had been for some time afflicted with the gout, sent a message to both Houses, on the seventeenth day of January, signifying that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and that she was employed in making preparations for an early campaign: she hoped, therefore, that the Commons would proceed in giving the necessary despatch to the supplies. The lord-treasurer, in-order to demonstrate his attachment to the Protestant succession, brought in a bill which had been proposed by the Duke of Devonshire, giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews to the

Walpole  
expelled the  
House of  
Commons.

crown; and when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. The sixteen peers for Scotland were prevailed upon, by promise of satisfaction, to resume their seats in the Upper House, from which they had absented themselves since the decision against the patent of the Duke of Hamilton; but whatever pecuniary recompense they might have obtained from the court, on which they were meanly dependent, they received no satisfaction from the Parliament. The Commons, finding Mr. Walpole very troublesome in their House, by his talents, activity, and zealous attachment to the whig interest, found means to discover some clandestine practices in which he was concerned as secretary at war, with regard to the forage-contract in Scotland. The contractors, rather than admit into their partnership a person whom he had recommended for that purpose, chose to present his friend with five hundred pounds. Their bill was addressed to Mr. Walpole, who indorsed it, and his friend touched the money.<sup>b</sup> This transaction was interpreted into a bribe. Mr. Walpole was voted guilty of corruption, imprisoned in the Tower, and expelled the House. Being afterwards re-chosen by the same borough of Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, a petition was lodged against him, and the Commons voted him incapable of being elected a member to serve in the present Parliament.

Their next attack was upon the Duke of Marlborough, who was found to have received a yearly sum from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the queen with ten thousand pounds a year to defray the expense of intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England. It

Votes  
against  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.

<sup>b</sup> The commissioners appointed for taking, stating, and examining the public accounts, having made their report touching the conduct of Mr. Walpole, the House, after a long debate, came to the following resolutions: 1. That Robert Walpole, Esq., a member of this House, in receiving the sum of five hundred guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred more, on account of two contracts for forage of her majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, made by him when secretary at war, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late lord treasurer, is guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption. 2. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq., be for the said offence committed prisoner to the Tower of London, during the pleasure of this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly. 3. That the said Robert Walpole, Esq., be for the said offence also expelled the House, and that the report of the commissioners of public accounts be taken into further consideration this day se'nnight. It appeared from the dispositions of witnesses, that the public had been defrauded considerably by these contracts: a very severe speech was made in the House, and next day published, reflecting upon Mr. Walpole, as guilty of the worst kind of corruption; and Sir Peter King declared in the House, that he deserved hanging, as well as he deserved imprisonment and expulsion.

was alleged, in his justification, that the present from the Jews was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent. was granted to him by an express warrant from her majesty: that all the articles of the charge joined together did not exceed thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to that which had been allowed to King William for contingencies: that the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact, that the duke was never surprised; that none of his parties were ever intercepted or cut off; and all the designs were by these means so well concerted, that he never once miscarried. Notwithstanding these representations, the majority voted that his practices had been unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions were communicated to the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had deducted by virtue of her own warrant. Such practices were certainly mean and mercenary, and greatly tarnished the glory which the duke had acquired by his military talents, and other shining qualities.

The Commons now directed the stream of their resentment against the Dutch, who had certainly exerted all their endeavours to overwhelm the new ministry, and retard the negotiations for peace. They maintained an intimate correspondence with the whigs of England. They diffused the most invidious reports against Oxford and Secretary St. John. Buys, their envoy at London, acted the part of an incendiary, in suggesting violent measures to the malecontents, and caballing against the government. The ministers, by way of reprisal, influenced the House of Commons to pass some acrimonious resolutions against the States-General. They alleged that the states had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and in the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the queen had paid above three millions of crowns in subsidies, above what she was obliged to advance by her engagements. They attacked the barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the states by Lord Townshend, after the conferences at Gertruydenberg. By this agreement, England guaranteed a barrier in the Netherlands to the Dutch, and the states bound themselves to maintain, with their whole force, the queen's title and the Protestant suc-

Resolutions  
against the  
barrier-  
treaty and  
the Dutch.

cession. The tories affirmed that England was disgraced by engaging any other state to defend a succession which the nation might see cause to alter: that, by this treaty, the states were authorized to interpose in British counsels: that, being possessed of all those strong towns, they might exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great Britain. The House of Commons voted, that in the barrier-treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great Britain, and therefore highly dishonourable to her majesty: that the Lord Viscount Townshend was not authorized to conclude several articles in that treaty: that he and all those who had advised its being ratified were enemies to the queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long representation presented to the queen, in which they averred that England, during the war, had been overcharged nineteen millions; a circumstance that implied mismanagement or fraud in the old ministry. The states, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, representing the necessity of a barrier, for the mutual security of England and the United Provinces. They afterwards drew up a large memorial in vindication of their proceedings during the war; and it was published in one of the English papers. The Commons immediately voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon the resolutions of the House; and the printer and publisher were taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

They now repealed the naturalization act. They passed a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland, without paying the least regard to a representation from the General Assembly to the queen, declaring that the act for securing the presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of union. The House, notwithstanding this remonstrance, proceeded with the bill, and inserted a clause prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of the kirk judicatories. The episcopal, as well as the presbyterian clergy, were required to take the oaths of abjuration, that they might be upon an equal footing in case of disobedience; for the Commons well knew that this condition would be rejected by both from very different motives. In order to ex-

Acts unfavourable to the presbyterian discipline in Scotland.

House, Burnet. Boyer. Lamberty. Quincy. Rousset. Torcy. Tindal. History of the Duke of Marlborough. Mil. Hist. Voltaire.

asperate the presbyterians with further provocations, another act was passed for discontinuing the courts of judicature during the Christmas holidays, which had never been kept by persons of that persuasion. When this bill was read for the third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "Since the House is resolved to make no toleration on the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be entitled, A bill for establishing Jacobitism and Immorality." The chagrin of the Scottish presbyterians was completed by a third bill, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away when the discipline of the kirk was last established. Prince Eugene having presented a memorial to the queen, touching the conduct of the emperor during the war, and containing a proposal with relation to the affairs of Spain, the queen communicated the scheme to the House of Commons, who treated it with the most contemptuous neglect. The prince, finding all his efforts ineffectual, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the ministry as he had reason to be satisfied with the people of England. The Commons having settled the funds for the supplies of the year, amounting to six millions, the treasurer formed the plan of a bill appointing commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the Revolution. His design was to make a general resumption; but as the interest of so many noblemen was concerned, the bill met with a very warm opposition; notwithstanding which it would have certainly passed, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford absented themselves from the House during the debate.

## CHAPTER XI.

THE CONFERENCES OPENED AT UTRECHT. — THE QUEEN'S MEASURES OBSTRUCTED BY THE ALLIES. — THE DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN AND HIS SON. — THE QUEEN DEMANDS PHILIP'S RENUNCIATION OF THE CROWN OF FRANCE. — THE DUKE OF ORMOND TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN FLANDERS. — HE IS RESTRICTED FROM ACTING AGAINST THE ENEMY. — DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THIS SUBJECT. — A LOYAL ADDRESS OF THE COMMONS. — PHILIP PROMISES TO RENOUNCE THE CROWN OF FRANCE. — THE QUEEN COMMUNICATES THE PLAN OF A PEACE IN A SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT. — EXCEPTIONS TAKEN TO SOME OF THE ARTICLES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. — A MOTION FOR THE GUARANTEE OF THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION BY THE ALLIES REJECTED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — THE DUKE OF ORMOND DECLARES TO PRINCE EUGENE THAT HE CAN NO LONGER COVER THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC. — IRUPTION INTO FRANCE BY GENERAL GROVESTEIN. — THE FOREIGN TROOPS IN BRITISH PAY REFUSE TO MARCH WITH THE DUKE OF ORMOND — WHO PROCLAIMS A CESSATION OF ARMS, AND SEEKS GHENT AND BRUGES. — THE ALLIES DEFEATED AT DENAIN. — PROGRESS OF THE CONFERENCES AT UTRECHT. — THE DUKE OF HAMILTON AND LORD MOHUN ARE KILLED IN A DUEL. — THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH RETIRES TO THE CONTINENT. — THE STATES-GENERAL SIGN THE BARRIER-TREATY. — THE OTHER ALLIES BECOME MORE TRACTABLE. — THE PEACE WITH FRANCE SIGNED AT UTRECHT. — BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT CONGRATULATE THE QUEEN ON THE PEACE. — SUBSTANCE OF THE TREATY WITH FRANCE. — OBJECTIONS TO THE TREATY OF COMMERCE. — DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE MALT-TAX FOR SCOTLAND. — THE SCOTTISH LORDS MOVE FOR A BILL TO DISSOLVE THE UNION. — ADDRESS OF THE COMMONS ABOUT DUNKIRK. — VIOLENCE OF PARTIES IN ENGLAND. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND. — NEW PARLIAMENT IN ENGLAND. — WRITERS EMPLOYED BY BOTH PARTIES. — TREATY OF RASTADT BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND FRANCE. — PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IN THE TREATY BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND SPAIN. — MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT. — THE HOUSE OF LORDS TAKES COGNIZANCE OF A LIBEL AGAINST THE SCOTS. — MR. STEELE EXPELLED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — PRECAUTIONS BY THE WHIGS FOR THE SECURITY OF THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION. — DEBATES IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS CONCERNING THE PRETENDER AND THE CATALANS. — THEY ADDRESS THE QUEEN TO SET A PRICE ON THE HEAD OF THE PRETENDER. — A WRIT DEMANDED FOR THE ELECTORAL PRINCE OF HANOVER AS DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE. — DEATH OF THE PRINCESS SOPHIA. — BILL TO PREVENT THE GROWTH OF SCHISM. — ANOTHER AGAINST ALL WHO SHOULD LIST OR BE ENLISTED IN A FOREIGN SERVICE. — THE PARLIAMENT PROVOGUE. — THE TREASURER DISGRACED. — PRECAUTIONS TAKEN FOR SECURING THE PEACE OF THE KINGDOM. — DEATH AND CHARACTER OF QUEEN ANNE.

IN the month of January the conferences for peace began at Utrecht. The Earl of Jersey would have been appointed the plenipotentiary for England, but he dying after the correspondence with the court of France was established, the queen conferred that charge upon Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, and the Earl of Strafford. The chief of the Dutch deputies named for the congress were Buys and Vanderdussen; the French king granted his powers to the Mareschal d'Uxelles, the Abbot

1712.  
The conferences  
opened at  
Utrecht.

(afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, and Menager, who had been in England. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the conferences, to which the empire and the other allies likewise sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. As all these powers, except France, entertained sentiments very different from those of her Britannic majesty, the conferences seemed calculated rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The Queen of England had foreseen and provided against these difficulties. Her great end was to free her subjects from the miseries attending an unprofitable war, and to restore peace to Europe; and this aim she was resolved to accomplish in spite of all opposition. She had also determined to procure reasonable terms of accommodation for her allies, without, however, continuing to lavish the blood and treasure of her people in supporting their extravagant demands. The emperor obstinately insisted upon his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions; and the Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries which Louis had formerly rejected. The queen saw that the liberties of Europe would be exposed to much greater danger from an actual union of the imperial and Spanish crowns in one head of the house of Austria, than from a bare possibility of Spain's being united with France in one branch of the house of Bourbon. She knew by experience the difficulty of dethroning Philip, rooted as he was in the affections of a brave and loyal people; and that a prosecution of this design would serve no purpose but to protract the war, and augment the grievances of the British nation. She was well acquainted with the distresses of the French, which she considered as pledges of their monarch's sincerity. She sought not the total ruin of that people, already reduced to the brink of despair. The dictates of true policy dissuaded her from contributing to her further conquest in that kingdom, which would have proved the source of contention among the allies, depressed the house of Bourbon below the standard of importance which the balance of Europe required it should maintain, and aggrandize the States-General at the expense of Great Britain. As she had borne the chief burden of the war, she had a right to take the lead, and dictate a plan of pacification; at least she had a right to consult the welfare of her own kingdom, in delivering, by a separate peace, her subjects from those enormous loads which they could no



longer sustain ; and she was well enough aware of her own consequence to think she could not obtain advantageous conditions.

Such were the sentiments of the queen ; and her ministers seem to have acted on the same principles, though perhaps party motives may have helped to influence their conduct. The allies concurred in opposing with all their might any treaty which could not gratify their different views of avarice, interest, and ambition. They practised a thousand little artifices to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministers, to raise and keep up a dangerous ferment among her people, by which her life and government were endangered. She could not fail to resent these efforts, which greatly perplexed her measures, and obstructed her design. Her ministers were sensible of the dangerous predicament in which they stood. The queen's health was much impaired ; and the successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of their sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands ; they saw no hope of safety, except in renouncing their principles, and submitting to their adversaries ; or else in taking such measures as would hasten the pacification, that the troubles of the kingdom might be appeased, and the people be satisfied with their conduct, before death should deprive them of their sovereign's protection. With this view they advised her to set on foot a private negotiation with Louis ; to stipulate certain advantages for her own subjects in a concerted plan of peace ; to enter into such mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to her prejudice, and in some measure enable her to prescribe terms for her allies. The plan was judiciously formed, but executed with too much precipitation. The stipulated advantages were not such as she had a right to demand and insist upon ; and without all doubt better might have been obtained, had not the obstinacy of the allies abroad, and the violent conduct of the whig faction at home, obliged the ministers to relax in some material points, and hasten the conclusion of the treaty.

The articles being privately regulated between the two courts of London and Versailles, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agree-

The queen's measures obstructed by the allies.

The death of the dauphin and his son.

ment which the queen had made with the French monarch touching the kingdom of Spain, which was indeed the basis of the treaty. This secret plan of negotiation, however, had well nigh been destroyed by some unforeseen events that were doubly afflicting to Louis. The dauphin had died of the small-pox in the course of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred upon his son, the Duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the last day of February, six days after the death of his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest offspring, the Duke of Bretagne, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the Duke of Burgundy's children none remained alive but the Duke of Anjou, the late French king, who was at that time a sickly infant. Such a series of calamities could not fail of being extremely shocking to Louis in his old age; but they were still more alarming to the Queen of England, who saw that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child divided the two monarchies of France and Spain, the union of which she resolved by all possible means to prevent. She therefore sent the Abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial, representing the danger to which the liberty of Europe would be exposed, should Philip ascend the throne of France; and demanding that his title should be transferred to his brother, the Duke of Berry, in consequence of his pure, simple, and voluntary renunciation.

Meanwhile the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were prevailed upon to deliver their proposals in writing under the name of specific offers, which the allies received with indignation. They were treated in England with universal scorn. Lord Halifax, in the House of Peers, termed them trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies. An address was presented to the queen, in which they expressed their resentment against the insolence of France, and promised to assist her with all their power in prosecuting the war, until a safe and honourable peace should be obtained. The plenipotentiaries of the allies were not less extravagant in their specific demands than the French had been arrogant in their offers. In a word, the ministers seemed to have been assembled at Utrecht, rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to heal animosities, and concert a plan of pacification. They amused one another with fruit-

The queen  
demands  
Philip's re-  
nunciation  
of the  
crown of  
France.

less conferences, while the Queen of Great Britain endeavoured to engage the States-General in her measures, that they might treat with France upon moderate terms, and give law to the rest of the allies. She departed from some of her own pretensions, in order to gratify them with the possession of some towns in Flanders. She consented to their being admitted into a participation of some advantages in commerce; and ordered the English ministers at the congress to tell them that she would take her measures according to the return they should make on this occasion. Finding them still obstinately attached to their first chimerical preliminaries, she gave them to understand that all her offers for adjusting the differences were founded upon the express condition that they should come in to her measures, and co-operate with her openly and sincerely; but they had made such bad returns to all her condescension towards them, that she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted upon a written answer to their specific demands; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should receive fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for suspending the conferences; but the real bar to a final agreement between England and France was the delay of Philip's renunciation, which at length, however, arrived, and produced a cessation of arms.

In the mean time the Duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, received a particular order that he should not hazard an engagement. Louis had already undertaken for the compliance of his grandson. Reflecting on his own great age, he was shocked at the prospect of leaving his kingdom involved in a pernicious war during a minority, and determined to procure a peace at all events. The queen, knowing his motives, could not help believing his protestations, and resolved to avoid a battle, the issue of which might have considerably altered the situation of affairs, and consequently retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Preparations had been made for an early campaign. In the beginning of March, the Earl of Albemarle, having assembled a body of thirty-six battalions, marched towards Arras, which he reduced to a heap of ashes by a most terrible cannonading and bombardment. In May, the Duke of Ormond conferred

The Duke of Ormond takes the command of the British forces in Flanders.

with the deputies of the States-General at the Hague, and assured them that he had orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He joined Prince Eugene at Tournay; and, on the twenty-sixth day of May, the allied army, passing the Scheldt, encamped at Haspre and Solemnes. The imperial general proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars; but by this time the duke was restrained from hazarding a siege or battle; a circumstance well known to the French commander, who therefore abated of his usual vigilance. It could not be long concealed from Prince Eugene and the deputies, who forthwith despatched an express to their principals on this subject, and afterwards presented a long memorial to the duke, representing the injury which the grand alliance would sustain from his obedience to such an order. He seemed to be extremely uneasy at his situation; and in a letter to Secretary St. John, expressed a desire that the queen would permit him to return to England.

Prince Eugene, notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet formally declared, invested the town of Quesnoy, and the duke furnished towards this enterprise seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained by Great Britain. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht expostulating with the Bishop of Bristol upon the duke's refusing to act against the enemy, that prelate told them, that he had lately received an express, with a letter from her majesty, in which she complained, that as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own conveniency. When they remonstrated against such conduct as contradictory to all the alliances subsisting between the queen and the States-General, the bishop declared his instructions further imported that, considering the conduct of the states towards her majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their high mightinesses. The states and the ministers of the allies were instantly in commotion. Private measures were concerted with the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, concerning the troops belonging to those powers in the pay of Great Britain. The States-General wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered

He is restricted from acting against the enemy.

their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, despatched expresses to his master, to Prince Eugene, and to the imperial ambassador at London. The queen held a council at Kensington upon the subject of the letter; and a fresh order was sent to the Duke of Ormond, directing him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

On the twenty-eighth day of May, Lord Halifax, in the House of Peers, descanted upon the ill consequences of the duke's refusing to co-operate with Prince Eugene, and moved for an address, desiring her majesty would order the general to act offensively, in concert with her allies. The treasurer observed, it was prudent to avoid a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to do with an enemy so apt to break his word. The Earl of Wharton replied, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy. When Oxford declared, that the Duke of Ormond had received orders to join the allies in a siege, the Duke of Marlborough affirmed it was impossible to carry on a siege without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy should attempt to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprise. The Duke of Argyle, having declared his opinion, that since the time of Julius Cæsar there had not been a greater captain than Prince Eugene of Savoy, observed that, considering the different interests of the house of Austria and of Great Britain, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle won or lost might entirely break off a negotiation of peace, which in all probability was near being concluded. He added, that two years before the confederates might have taken Arras and Cambray, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquests of Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant. The Duke of Devonshire said he was, by proximity of blood, more concerned than any other in the reputation of the Duke of Ormond; and, therefore, could not help expressing his surprise, that any one would dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Paulet answered, that nobody could doubt the Duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of

Debate in  
the House  
of Lords on  
this subject.

their commissions. The Duke of Marlborough was so deeply affected by this reflection, that though he suppressed his resentment in the House, he took the first opportunity to send Lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship about some expressions he had used in that day's debate, and desiring his company to take the air in the country. The earl understood his meaning; but could not conceal his emotion from the observation of his lady, by whose means the affair was communicated to the Earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state. Two sentinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate: the queen, by the channel of Lord Dartmouth, desired the Duke of Marlborough would proceed no farther in the quarrel; and he assured her he would punctually obey her majesty's commands. The Earl of Oxford assured the House that a separate peace was never intended; that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation than the first preliminaries insisted upon by the allies. The question being put for adjourning, was, after a long debate, carried in the affirmative; but twenty lords entered a protest. The Earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed that they should examine the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg before they considered that of Utrecht. He observed, that in the former negotiations the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary, who communicated no more of it to the ministers of the allies than what was judged proper to let them know; so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret. He asserted that the States-General had consented to give Naples and Sicily to King Philip; a circumstance which proved that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy was looked upon as impracticable. He concluded with a motion for an address to her majesty, desiring that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg should be laid before the House. This was carried without a division.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Pulteney moved for an address, acquainting her majesty that her faithful Commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her general in Flanders

A loyal address of the Commons.

had declined acting offensively against France in concurrence with her allies ; and beseeching her majesty, that he might receive speedy instructions to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. This motion was rejected by a great majority. A certain member having insinuated, that the present negotiation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. Secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great Britain ; that he gloried in the small share he had in the transaction ; and whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompense and comfort to him during the whole course of his life. The House resolved that the Commons had an entire confidence in her majesty's promise to communicate to her Parliament the terms of the peace before it should be concluded ; and that they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavour to obstruct the pacification. The queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain. They likewise presented an address, desiring they might have an account of the negotiations and transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and know who were then employed as her majesty's plenipotentiaries.

The ministry, foreseeing that Philip would not willingly resign his hopes of succeeding to the crown of France, proposed an alternative, that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be forthwith ceded to the Duke of Savoy ; that Philip, in the mean time, should possess the duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with Montserrat and Mantua ; all which territories should be annexed to France at Philip's succession to that crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the house of Austria. Louis seemed to relish this expedient, which, however, was rejected by Philip, who chose to make the renunciation rather than quit the throne upon which he was established. The queen demanded, that the renunciation should be ratified in the most solemn manner by the states of France ; but she afterwards waived this demand, in consideration of its being

Philip promises to renounce the crown of France.

registered in the different Parliaments. Such forms are but slender securities against the power, ambition, and interest of princes. The Marquis de Torcy frankly owned, that Philip's renunciation was of itself void, as being contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy; but it was found necessary for the satisfaction of the English people. Every material article being now adjusted between the two courts, particularly those relating to the King of Spain, the commerce of Great Britain, and the delivery of Dunkirk, a suspension of arms prevailed in the Netherlands, and the Duke of Ormond acted in concert with Mareschal de Villars.

On the sixth day of June, the queen, going to the House of Peers, communicated the plan of peace to her Parliament, according to the promise she had made. After having premised, that the making of peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted at the difficulties which had arisen both from the nature of the affair, and numberless obstructions contrived by the enemies of peace, she proceeded to enumerate the chief articles to which both crowns had agreed, without, however, concluding the treaty. She told them she had secured the Protestant succession, which France had acknowledged in the strongest terms; and that the pretender would be removed from the French dominions: that the Duke of Anjou should renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided. She observed, that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself: that it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation; and in France, the persons entitled to the succession of that crown upon the death of the dauphin were powerful enough to vindicate their own right. She gave them to understand that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun, though not yet adjusted; but provision was made, that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to the most favoured nation: that the French king had agreed to make an absolute cession of the island of St. Christopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations: that he had also consented to restore the whole bay and straits of Hudson; to deliver the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova Scotia; to

The queen communicates the plan of the peace in a speech to both Houses of Parliament.



demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca; to let the trade of Spain in the West Indies be settled as it was in the reign of his late Catholic majesty: she signified that she had obtained for her subjects the *assiento*, or contract for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, for the term of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French. With respect to the allies, she declared, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine and in the islands of that river: that the Protestant interest in Germany would be resettled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia: that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the duchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany might be yielded to his imperial majesty; but the disposition of Sicily was not yet determined: that the demands of the States-General with relation to commerce, and the barrier in the Low Countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated by other expedients: that no great progress had yet been made upon the pretensions of Portugal; but that those of Prussia would be admitted by France without much difficulty: that the difference between the barrier demanded by the Duke of Savoy in the year one thousand seven hundred and nine, and that which France now offered, was very inconsiderable: that the Elector Palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover. Such were the conditions which the queen hoped would make some amends to her subjects for the great and unequal burden they had borne during the whole course of the war. She concluded with saying, she made no doubt but they were fully persuaded that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of this negotiation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue; and she expressed her dependence upon the entire confidence and cheerful concurrence of her Parliament.

An address of thanks and approbation was immediately voted, drawn up, and presented to the queen by the Commons in a body. When the House of Lords took the speech into consideration, the Duke of Marlborough asserted, that

the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with the allies : that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. The Earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shown such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England. In answer to this insinuation against Marlborough, Lord Cowper observed, that it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation ; such allies, especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of the session ; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile, either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies. This was a frivolous argument. A correspondence with any person whatsoever becomes criminal, when it tends to foment the divisions of one's country, and arm the people against their sovereign. If England had it not in her power, without infringing the laws of justice and honour, to withdraw herself from a confederacy which she could no longer support, and treat for peace on her own bottom, then was she not an associate but a slave to the alliance. The Earl of Godolphin affirmed, that the trade to Spain was such a trifle as deserved no consideration ; and that it would continually diminish, until it should be entirely engrossed by the French merchants. Notwithstanding these remonstrances against the plan of peace, the majority agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension in communicating those conditions to her Parliament ; and expressed an entire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty would take such measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guarantee. A debate ensued : the question was put, and the clause rejected. Several noblemen entered a protest, which was expunged

Exceptions  
taken to  
some of the  
articles in  
the House  
of Lords.

from the journals of the House by the decision of the majority.

In the House of Commons, a complaint was exhibited against Bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons which he had published, took occasion to extol the last ministry, at the expense of the present administration. This piece was voted malicious and factious, tending to create discord and sedition among her majesty's subjects, and condemned to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the States-General to her majesty; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be thus ushered into the world, as inflammatory appeals to the public. Mr. Hambden moved for an address to her majesty, that she would give particular instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that, in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with her majesty might be guarantees for the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The question being put was carried in the negative. Then the House resolved, that they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the Protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt of her taking the proper measures for the security thereof; that the House would support her against faction at home and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her majesty and her subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her people. The queen was extremely pleased with this resolution. When it was presented, she told them that they had shown themselves honest asserters of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the Protestant succession. She thought she had very little reason to countenance a compliment of supererogation to a prince who had caballed with the enemies of her administration. On the twenty-first day of June the queen closed the session with a speech, expressing her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had

A motion for the guarantee of the Protestant succession by the allies rejected in the House of Commons.

received: she observed that, should the treaty be broke off, their burdens would be at least continued, if not increased; that Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and that, though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. Notwithstanding the ferment of the people, which was now risen to a very dangerous pitch, addresses, approving the queen's conduct, were presented by the city of London and all the corporations in the kingdom that espoused the tory interest. At this juncture the nation was so wholly possessed by the spirit of party, that no appearance of neutrality or moderation remained.

During these transactions the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour, under cover of the forces commanded by the Duke of Ormond. This nobleman, however, having received a copy of the articles signed by the Marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the queen, signified to Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies that the French king had agreed to several articles demanded by the queen, as the foundation of an armistice; and, among others, to put the English troops in immediate possession of Dunkirk; that he could therefore no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops, and those in the queen's pay, and declare a suspension of arms as soon as he should be possessed of Dunkirk. He expressed his hope that they would readily acquiesce in these instructions, seeing their concurrence would act as the most powerful motive to induce the queen to take all possible care of their interests at the congress; and he endeavoured to demonstrate that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the allies than Quesnoy. The deputies desired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and he granted three days without hesitation. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy; but he hoped these last would not obey the duke's order. He and the deputies had already tampered with their commanding officers, who absolutely refused to obey the Duke of Ormond, alleging that they

The Duke  
of Ormond  
declares to  
Prince  
Eugene  
that he can  
no longer  
cover the  
siege of  
Quesnoy.

could not separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had despatched couriers. An extraordinary assembly of the states was immediately summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the allies were invited to the conferences. At length, the princes whose troops were in the pay of Britain assured them, that they would maintain them under the command of Prince Eugene for one month at their own expense, and afterwards sustain half the charge, provided the other half should be defrayed by the emperor and the States-General.

The Bishop of Bristol imparted to the other plenipotentiaries at Utrecht the concessions which France would make to the allies; and proposed a suspension of arms for two months, that they might treat in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer, but that they had no instructions on the subject. Count Zinzendorf, the first imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-General, explaining the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms; and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and a certain plan for prosecuting the war with redoubled ardour. Prince Eugene, in order to dazzle the confederates with some bold enterprise, detached Major-General Grovestein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. This officer, about the middle of June, advanced into Champagne, passed the Noire, the Maese, the Moselle, and the Saar, and retired to Traerbach with a rich booty, and a great number of hostages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to ashes. The consternation produced by this irruption reached the city of Paris: the King of France did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards: all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were assembled about the palace. Villars sent a detachment after Grovestein, as soon as he understood his destination; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which had the mortification to follow him so close that they found the flames still burning in the villages he had destroyed. By way of retaliation, Major-General Pasteur, a French partisan, made an

*Irruption  
into France  
by General  
Grovestein.*

excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and ravaged the island of Tortola belonging to Zealand.

The Earl of Strafford, having returned to Holland, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-General, by whom it was rejected. Then he proceeded to the army of the Duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war on the fourth day of July. The officers of the foreign troops had a second time refused to obey a written order of the duke; and such a spirit of animosity began to prevail between the English and allies, that it was absolutely necessary to effect a speedy separation. Prince Eugene resolved to undertake the siege of Landrecy: a design is said to have been formed by the German generals to confine the duke, on pretence of the arrears that were due to them; and to disarm the British troops, lest they should join the French army. In the mean time a literary correspondence was maintained between the English general and the Mareschal de Villars. France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England, under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the seventh day of July: the French garrison retired to Winoxberg. On the sixteenth of the same month, Prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except a few battalions of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons, belonging to the state of Liege.

Landrecy was immediately invested; while the Duke of Ormond, with the English forces, removed from Château Cambresis, and encamping at Avensne-le-Secq, proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like armistice was declared in the French army. The Dutch were so exasperated at the secession of the English troops, that the governors would not allow the Earl of Strafford to enter Bouchain, nor the British army to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores together with their general hospital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, understanding that the Duke of Ormond had begun his march towards Ghent, began to be in pain for that city, and sent Count Nassau Woodenburgh to him with a written apology, condemning

The foreign  
troops in  
British pay  
refuse to  
march with  
the Duke of  
Ormond,

Who pro-  
claims a  
cessation of  
arms, and  
besieges  
Ghent and  
Bruges.

and disavowing the conduct and commandants of Bouchain and Douay; but, notwithstanding these excuses, the English troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle: insults which were resented by the whole British nation. The duke, however, pursued his march, and took possession of Ghent and Bruges for the Queen of England: then he reinforced the garrison of Dunkirk, which he likewise supplied with artillery and ammunition. His conduct was no less agreeable to his sovereign than mortifying to the Dutch, who never dreamed of leaving Ghent and Bruges in the hands of the English, and were now fairly outwitted and anticipated by the motions and expedition of the British general.

The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. Five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty, fell into the hands of the enemy: this advantage they gained in sight of Prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Scheldt to sustain Albemarle; but the bridge over that river was broken down by accident, so that he was prevented from lending the least assistance. Villars immediately invested Merchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were lodged. The place was surrendered on the last day of July; and the garrison, consisting of five thousand men, were conducted prisoners to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; an enterprise, in consequence of which Prince Eugene abandoned his design on Landrecy, and marched towards the French, in order to hazard an engagement. The states, however, would not run the risk; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay reduced by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchain, of which places they were in possession before the tenth day of October. The allies enjoyed no other compensation for their great losses but the conquest of Fort Knocque, which was surprised by one of their partisans.

The British ministers at the congress continued to press

The allies  
defeated at  
Denain.

the Dutch and other allies to join in the armistice; but they were deaf to the proposal, and concerted measures for a vigorous prosecution of the war. Then the Earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting to the congress the plenipotentiaries of King Philip; but he found them equally averse to this expedient. In the beginning of August, Secretary St. John, now created Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles incognito, to remove all obstructions to the treaty between England and France. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior, and the Abbé Gualtier, treated with the most distinguished marks of respect, caressed by the French king and the Marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the Duke of Savoy and the Elector of Bavaria. He settled the time and manner of the renunciation, and agreed to a suspension of arms by sea and land for four months between the crowns of France and England: this was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. The negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France. The States-General breathed nothing but war: the Pensionary Heinsius pronounced an oration in their assembly, representing the impossibility of concluding a peace without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended. The conferences at Utrecht were interrupted by a quarrel between the domestics of Menager and those of the Count de Rechteren, one of the Dutch plenipotentiaries. The populace insulted the Earl of Strafford and the Marquis del Borgo, minister of Savoy, whose master was reported to have agreed to the armistice. These obstructions being removed, the conferences were renewed, and the British plenipotentiaries exerted all their rhetoric, both in public and private, to engage the allies in the queen's measures. At length the Duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been sent ambassador to Hanover, with a view to persuade the elector that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her majesty: but that prince's resolution was already taken. "Whenever it shall please God (said he) to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act as becomes me for the advantage of my people; in the mean time, speak to me as to a German prince, and a prince of the empire." Nor was she more successful in her endeavours to bring over the



King of Prussia to her sentiments. In the mean time, Lord Lexington was appointed ambassador to Madrid, where King Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and confirmed by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain was afterwards made by the princes of France; and Philip was declared incapable of succeeding to the crown of that realm. The court of Portugal held out against the remonstrances of England, until the Marquis de Bay invaded that kingdom at the head of twenty thousand men, and undertook the siege of Campo-Major, and they found they had no longer any hope of being assisted by her Britannic majesty. The Portuguese minister at Utrecht signed the suspension of arms on the seventh day of November, and excused this step to the allies as the pure effect of necessity. The English troops in Spain were ordered to separate from the army of Count Staremberg, and march to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were embarked on board an English squadron commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

The campaign being at an end in the Netherlands, the Duke of Ormond returned to England, where the party disputes were become more violent than ever. The whigs affected to celebrate the anniversary of the late king's birthday, in London, with extraordinary rejoicings. Mobs were hired by both factions; and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord treasurer with some squibs in a bandbox, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy. The Duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France, the whigs were alarmed on the supposition that this nobleman favoured the pretender. Some dispute arising between the duke and Lord Mohun, on the subject of a lawsuit, furnished a pretence for a quarrel. Mohun, who had been twice tried for murder, and was counted a mean tool, as well as the hector of the whig party, sent a message by General Macartney to the duke, challenging him to single combat. The principals met by appointment in Hyde-Park, attended by Macartney and Colonel Hamilton. They fought with such fury that Mohun was killed upon the spot, and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house.

The Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun are killed in a duel. The Duke of Marlborough retires to the continent.

Macartney disappeared, and escaped in disguise to the continent. Colonel Hamilton declared upon oath before the privy council, that when the principals engaged, he and Macartney followed their example; that Macartney was immediately disarmed; but the colonel, seeing the duke fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: that while he was employed in raising the duke, Macartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and retired immediately. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who should apprehend or discover Macartney; and the Duchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose. The Tories exclaimed against this event as a party duel: they treated Macartney as a cowardly assassin; and affirmed that the Whigs had posted others of the same stamp all round Hyde-Park to murder the Duke of Hamilton, in case he had triumphed over his antagonist, and escaped the treachery of Macartney. The Whigs on the other hand affirmed, that it was altogether a private quarrel: that Macartney was entirely innocent of the perfidy laid to his charge: that he afterwards submitted to a fair trial, at which Colonel Hamilton prevaricated in giving his evidence, and was contradicted by the testimony of divers persons who saw the combat at a distance. The Duke of Marlborough, hearing himself accused as the author of those party mischiefs, and seeing his enemies grow every day more and more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent, where he was followed by his duchess. His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, dispassionate minister, who had rendered himself necessary to four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The Duke of Shrewsbury was nominated ambassador to France, in the room of the Duke of Hamilton: the Duke d'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and about the same time the queen granted an audience to the Marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had appointed one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

In vain had the British ministers in Holland endeavoured to overcome the obstinacy of the States-General, by alternate threats, promises, and arguments. In vain did they represent that the confederacy against France could be no longer supported with

The States-General sign the barrier-treaty.

any prospect of success: that the queen's aim had been to procure reasonable terms for her allies; but that their opposition to her measures prevented her from obtaining such conditions as she would have a right to demand in their favour, were they unanimous in their consultations. In November, the Earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to insist upon France's ceding to the states the city of Tournay, and some other places which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty. They now began to waver in their councils. The first transports of their resentment having subsided, they plainly perceived that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burden which they could not bear, especially since the Duke of Savoy and the King of Portugal had deserted the alliance: besides, they were staggered by the affair of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that which France had proposed in the beginning of the conferences. They were influenced by another motive, namely, the apprehension of new mischiefs to the empire from the King of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch. The czar and King Augustus had penetrated into Pomerania: the King of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid Hamburg under contribution; but Count Steenbock, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburgh, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altona to ashes. The grand signor threatened to declare war against the czar, on pretence that he had not performed some essential articles of the late peace; but his real motive was an inclination to support the King of Sweden. This disposition, however, was defeated by a powerful party at the Porte, who were averse to war. Charles, who still remained at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and given to understand that the sultan would procure him a safe passage. He treated the person who brought this intimation with the most outrageous insolence; rejected the proposal, fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most frantic valour. They slew some hundreds of the assailants; but at last the Turks set fire to the house; so that he was obliged to surrender

himself and his followers, who were generally sold for slaves. He himself was conveyed under a strong guard to Adrianople. Meanwhile the czar landed with an army in Finland, which he totally reduced. Steenbock maintained himself in Tonningen until all his supplies were cut off, and then he was obliged to deliver himself and his troops prisoners of war. But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch dreaded a rupture between the Porte and the Muscovites, and were given to understand that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that case, they knew the emperor would recall great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war must lie upon their shoulders. After various consultations in their different assemblies, they came in to the queen's measures, and signed the barrier-treaty.

Then the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, imploring the queen's interposition in their favour, that they might not be left in the miserable condition to which they had been reduced by former treaties. They were given to understand, that if they should not obtain what they desired, they themselves would be justly blamed as the authors of their own disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and left the whole burden of the war to fall upon the queen and the states in the Netherlands: that when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her majesty to follow the chimerical projects of Prince Eugene; that while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but when she inclined to peace, they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with uncommon eagerness; that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests, but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand. Even the emperor's plenipotentiaries began to talk in more moderate terms. Zinzendorf declared that his master was very well disposed to promote a general peace, and no longer insisted on a cession of the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria. Philip's ministers, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the congress: and now the plenipotentiaries of Britain acted as mediators for the rest of the allies.

The pacification between France and England was retarded, however, by some unforeseen difficulties that arose in adjusting the commerce and the limits of the countries possessed by both nations in North America. A long dispute ensued; and the Duke of Shrewsbury and Prior held many conferences with the French ministry: at length it was compromised, though not much to the advantage of Great Britain; and the English plenipotentiaries received an order to sign a separate treaty. They declared to the ministers of the other powers, that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties on the eleventh day of April. Count Zinzendorf endeavoured to postpone this transaction until he should be furnished with fresh instructions from Vienna; and even threatened that if the states should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the emperor would immediately withdraw his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of Great Britain agreed with those of France, that his imperial majesty should have time to consider whether he would or would not accept the proposals: but this time was extended no farther than the first day of June; nor would they agree to a cessation of arms during that interval. Meanwhile the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal, and the States-General. On the fourteenth day of the month the British plenipotentiaries delivered to Count Zinzendorf, in writing, "Offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the house of Austria and the empire." The count and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France, which had not even bestowed the title of Emperor on Joseph; but wanted to impose terms upon them, with relation to the Electors of Cologn and Bavaria.

The treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being ratified by the Queen of England, the Parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. The queen told them the treaty was signed, and that in a few days the ratifications would be exchanged. She said, what she had done for the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the house of Hanover, would convince those who wished well to both, and desired the quiet

The peace  
with France  
signed at  
Utrecht.

Burnet.  
Boyer.  
Hare.  
Lamberty.  
Quincy.  
Rousset.  
Torcy.  
Bollinghr.  
Voltaire.  
Tindal.  
Mil. Hist.  
History of  
the Duke  
of Marl-  
borough.

1713.  
Both  
Houses of  
Parliament  
congratulate  
the  
queen on  
the peace.

and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them. She left it entirely to the House of Commons to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons. "Make yourselves safe (said she), and I shall be satisfied. Next to the protection of the Divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I want no other guarantee." She recommended to their protection those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace. She desired they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom, for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery, and for employing the hands of idle people. She expressed her displeasure at the scandalous and seditious libels which had been lately published. She exhorted them to consider of new laws to prevent this licentiousness, as well as for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling. She conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by party rage, might not effect that which their foreign enemies could not accomplish. This was the language of a pious, candid, and benevolent sovereign, who loved her subjects with a truly parental affection. The Parliament considered her in that light. Each House presented her with a warm address of thanks and congratulation, expressing, in particular, their inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, with the usual ceremonies, to the inexpressible joy of the nation in general. It was about this period that the Chevalier de St. George conveyed a printed remonstrance to the ministers at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against all that might be stipulated to his prejudice. The Commons, in a second address, had besought her majesty to communicate to the House in due time the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and now they were produced by Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer.

By the treaty of peace the French king obliged himself to  
 Substance of the treaty with France. abandon the pretender, and acknowledge the queen's title and the Protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on con-

dition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's to England; but the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and at liberty to dry their fish in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-four, except in some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-nine. It was agreed, that no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries; and, that commissioners should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce; as for the tariff with Spain, it was not yet finished. It was stipulated, that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: that the Duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily, with the title of king: that the same title, with the island of Sardinia, should be allotted to the Elector of Bavaria, as an indemnification for his losses: that the States-General should restore Lisle and its dependencies: that Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders; and that the King of Prussia should have Upper Gueldre, in lieu of Orange and the other states belonging to that family in Franche-Comté. The King of Portugal was satisfied; and the first day of June was fixed as the period of time granted to the emperor for consideration.

A day being appointed by the Commons to deliberate upon the treaty of commerce, very just and weighty objections were made to the eighth and ninth articles, importing that Great Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other that either granted to the most favoured nation: and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than those that were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having long inclined to the side of France, severe duties had been laid on all the productions and manufactures of that kingdom, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition. Some members observed that, by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country were lower than those laid upon the wines of France; that should

Objections  
to the  
treaty of  
commerce.

they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that the French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and, as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general, there would be no market for the Portuguese wines in England: that should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on; for it consumed a great quantity of their manufactures, and returned a yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold. Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank, affirmed, that as France had, since the Revolution, encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities which formerly they drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys, formerly imported from France: by which means an infinite number of artificers were employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation: but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money lost again to the kingdom, should French commodities of the same kind be imported under ordinary duties, because labour was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be undersold and ruined. He urged, that the ruin of the silk manufacture would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in consequence of the raw silk which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, those markets for British commodities would fail of course. Others alleged, that if the articles of commerce had been settled before the English troops separated from those of the confederates, the French king would not have presumed to insist upon such terms, but have been glad to comply with more moderate conditions. Sir William Wyndham reflected on the late ministry for having neglected to make an advantageous peace when it was in their power. He said that Portugal would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England, and be obliged to buy them at all events. After a violent debate, the House resolved, by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with France. Against these articles, however, the Portuguese minister presented a memorial, declaring that, should



the duties on French wines be lowered to the same level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great Britain. Indeed, all the trading part of the nation exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which seems to have been concluded in a hurry, before the ministers fully understood the nature of the subject. This precipitation was owing to the fears that their endeavours after peace would miscarry, from the intrigues of the whig faction, and the obstinate opposition of the confederates.

The Commons, having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax to the whole island, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of the Scottish members, who represented it as a burden which their country could not bear. They insisted upon an express article of the union, stipulating, that no duty should be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, inasmuch as the peace with Spain had not been proclaimed. During the adjournment of the Parliament, on account of the Whitsun-holidays, the Scots of both Houses, laying aside all party distinctions, met and deliberated on this subject. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of such an insupportable burden as the malt-tax would, in all probability, prompt them to declare the union dissolved. The queen, alarmed at this remonstrance, answered, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolution; but she would endeavour to make all things easy. On the first day of June, the Earl of Findlater, in the House of Peers, represented that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a privy council, and subjected to the English laws in cases of treason: that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers: and that now they were oppressed with the insupportable burden of a malt-tax, when they had reason to expect they should reap the benefit of peace: he therefore moved, that leave might be given to bring in a

Debates in the House of Lords on the malt-tax for Scotland. The Scottish Lords move for a bill to dissolve the union.

bill for dissolving the union, and securing the Protestant succession to the house of Hanover. Lord North and Grey affirmed, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless; that the dissolution of the union was impracticable; and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation. He was answered by the Earl of Eglinton, who admitted the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The Earl of Ilay, among other pertinent remarks upon the union, observed that when the treaty was made, the Scots took it for granted that the Parliament of Great Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous. The Earl of Peterborough compared the union to a marriage. He said, that though England, who must be supposed the husband, might in some instances prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce, the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Ilay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the union no more than a political expedient. The other affirmed, that the contract could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from heaven: he inveighed against the Scots, as a people that would never be satisfied: that would have all the advantages resulting from the union, but would pay nothing by their good will, although they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates. To these animadversions the Duke of Argyle made a very warm reply. "I have been reflected on by some people (said he) as if I was disgusted, and had changed sides: but I despise their persons as much as I undervalue their judgment." He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, because land was worth five pounds an acre in the neighbourhood of London, and would not fetch so many shillings in the remote counties. In like manner, the English malt was valued at four times the price of that which was made in Scotland: therefore the tax in this country must be levied by a regiment of dragoons. He owned he had a great share in making the union, with a view to secure the Protestant succession; but he was now satisfied this end might be answered as effectually if the union was dissolved; and, if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland, or liberty in England. All the whig members voted for the dissolution of that

treaty which they had so eagerly promoted; while the torjes strenuously supported the measure against which they had once argued with such vehemence. In the course of the debate, the lord treasurer observed, that although the malt-tax was imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown. The Earl of Sunderland expressed surprise at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power, and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures. Sunderland, considering this expression as a sarcasm levelled at the memory of his father, took occasion to vindicate his conduct, adding, that in those days the other lord's family was hardly known. Much violent altercation was discharged. At length the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

Another bill being brought into the House of Commons for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were delivered against it, and so many solid arguments advanced by the merchants who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of tory members were convinced of the bad consequence it would produce to trade, and voted against the ministry on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices. At the same time, however, the House agreed to an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms in the treaty of peace; as also for having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade. They likewise besought her to appoint commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected for the good and welfare of her people. The queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and thanked them accordingly in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment. The Commons afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk; and she gave them to understand that this was already in the hands of his most Christian majesty: then they besought her, that she would not evacuate the towns of Flanders that were in her possession, until those who were

Address of  
the Com-  
mons about  
Dunkirk.

entitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands should agree to such articles for regulating trade as might place the subjects of Great Britain upon an equal footing with those of any other nation. The queen made a favourable answer to all their remonstrances. Such were the steps taken by the Parliament during this session with relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, against which the whigs exclaimed so violently, that many well-meaning people believed it would be attended with the immediate ruin of the kingdom; yet, under the shadow of this very treaty, Great Britain enjoyed a long term of peace and tranquillity. Bishop Burnet was heated with an enthusiastic terror of the house of Bourbon. He declared to the queen in private, that any treaty by which Spain and the West Indies were left in the hands of King Philip must in a little time deliver all Europe into the hands of France: that, if any such peace was made, the queen was betrayed, and the people ruined: that in less than three years she would be murdered, and the fires would blaze again in Smithfield. This prelate lived to see his prognostic disappointed; therefore he might have suppressed this anecdote of his own conduct.

On the twenty-fifth day of June, the queen signified, in a message to the House of Commons, that her civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expense; and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum of money upon the funds for that provision as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil-list revenue, and passed through both Houses with some difficulty. Both Lords and Commons addressed the queen concerning the Chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Lorraine. They desired she would press the duke of that name, and all the princes and states in amity with her, to exclude from their dominions the pretender to the imperial crown of Great Britain. A public thanksgiving for the peace was appointed, and celebrated with great solemnity; and on the sixteenth day of July the queen closed the session with a speech which was not at all agreeable to the violent whigs, because it did not contain one word about the pretender and the Protestant succession. From these omissions they concluded that the dictates of natural affection had biassed her in favour of the

Violence  
of parties  
in England.

Chevalier de St. George. Whatever sentiments of tenderness and compassion she might feel for that unfortunate exile, the acknowledged son of her own father, it does not appear that she ever entertained a thought of altering the succession as by law established. The term of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, extraordinary rejoicings were made upon the occasion. He was desired to preach before the House of Commons, who thanked him for his sermon; and the queen promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, Holborn. On the other hand, the Duke d'Aumont, ambassador from France, was insulted by the populace. Scurrilous ballads were published against him, both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by accident or design he could not well determine. The magistracy of Dunkirk, having sent a deputation with an address to the queen, humbly imploring her majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing that they might be useful to her own subjects, the memorial was printed and dispersed, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground; the harbour was filled up; and the Duke d'Aumont returned to Paris in the month of November. The queen, by her remonstrances to the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six Protestants from the galleys: understanding afterwards that as many more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry that they too were released. Then she appointed General Ross her envoy extraordinary to the King of France.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, being nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland, assembled the Parliament of that kingdom on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two Houses still at variance, on the opposite principles of whig and tory. Allen Broderick being chosen speaker of the Commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Lloyd for publishing a book entitled "*Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George*;" and they agreed upon an address to the queen, to remove

Proceedings  
of the Par-  
liament of  
Ireland.

from the chancellorship Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the tories of that kingdom. The Lords, however, resolved, that Chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two Houses of Convocation presented an address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Molesworth for having insulted them, by saying, when they appeared in the castle of Dublin, "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy council. The Duke of Shrewsbury received orders to prorogue this Parliament, which was divided against itself, and portended nothing but domestic broils. Then he obtained leave to return to England, leaving Chancellor Phipps, with the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

New Par-  
liament in  
England.  
Writers  
employed  
by both  
parties.

The Parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner as to retain the legislative power in the hands of the tories; but the meeting of the new Parliament was delayed, by repeated prorogations, to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the queen's indisposition, and partly to the contests among her ministers. Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treasurer's parts were deemed the more solid, the secretary's more shining; but both ministers were aspiring and ambitious. The first was bent upon maintaining the first rank in the administration, which he had possessed since the revolution in the ministry; the other disdained to act as a subaltern to the man whom he thought he excelled in genius and equalled in importance. They began to form separate cabals, and adopt different principles: Bolingbroke insinuated himself into the confidence of Lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By this communication he gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she, who had been the author of his elevation, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was sensibly affected with these dissensions, which she interposed her advice and authority, by turns, to appease; but their mutual animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. The interest of Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt, the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham,

and Mr. Secretary Bromley. Oxford perceived his own influence was on the wane, and began to think of retirement. Meanwhile the Earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the King of Sicily, and set out for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a very dangerous inflammatory fever. The hopes of the Jacobites visibly rose: the public funds immediately fell: a great run was made upon the bank, the directors of which were overwhelmed with consternation, which was not a little increased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent one of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit. The queen, being made acquainted with these occurrences, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stancer, lord mayor of London, declaring that, now she was recovered of her late indisposition, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the Parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation she sent to her loving subjects of the city of London, to the intent that all of them, in their several stations, might discountenance those malicious rumours, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and the imminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. The queen's recovery, together with certain intelligence that the armament was a phantom, and the pretender still in Lorraine, helped to assuage the ferment of the nation, which had been industriously raised by party writings. Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, entitled, "The Crisis," in defence of the Revolution and the Protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a popish successor. On the other hand, the hereditary right to the crown of England was asserted in a large volume, supposed to be written with a view to pave the way for the pretender's accession. One Bedford was apprehended, tried, convicted, and severely punished, as the publisher of this treatise.

While England was harassed by these intestine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the terms of peace proposed by France, resolved to maintain the war at his own expense, with the assistance of the empire. His forces on the Rhine, commanded by Prince Eugene, were so much outnumbered by the French under Villars, that they could not prevent the enemy from reducing the two important fortresses of Landau and Fri-

Treaty of  
Rastadt  
between  
the emper-  
or and  
France.

bourg. His imperial majesty hoped that the death of Queen Anne, or that of Louis XIV., would produce an alteration in Europe that might be favourable to his interest; and he depended upon the conduct and fortune of Prince Eugene for some lucky event in war. But finding himself disappointed in all these expectations, and absolutely unable to support the expense of another campaign, he hearkened to overtures of peace that were made by the Electors of Cologne and Palatine; and conferences were opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars, on the twenty-sixth day of November. In the beginning of February these ministers separated, without seeming to have come to any conclusion: but all the articles being settled between the two courts of Vienna and Versailles, they met again the latter end of the month: the treaty was signed on the third day of March; and orders were sent to the governors and commanders on both sides to desist from all hostilities. By this treaty, the French king yielded to the Emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Fribourg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with Fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Huningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and Fort Louis: The town and fortress of Landau were ceded to the King of France, who acknowledged the Elector of Hanover. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the King of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarters of Guelders. Finally, the contracting parties agreed that a congress should be opened on the first day of May, at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and Prince Eugene and Mareschal de Villars were appointed their first plenipotentiaries.

The ratifications of the treaty between Great Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the first day of March, in London; and the articles were not disagreeable to the English nation. The kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the Protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-seven. He granted an exclusive privilege to the Eng-

Principal  
articles in  
the treaty  
between  
Great Bri-  
tain and  
Spain.  
Meeting of  
the Parlia-  
ment.



lish for furnishing the Spanish West Indies with negroes, according to the *assiento* contract.\* He ceded Gibraltar to England, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the Spanish inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He obliged himself to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, with the possession of all their estates, honours, and privileges, and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy. The new Parliament was opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker of the House of Commons. On the second day of March, the queen, being carried in a sedan to the House of Lords, signified to both Houses that she had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and for the greatest part of her allies; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe. She observed, that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate that the Protestant succession, in the house of Hanover, was in danger under her government; but that those who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity. She said that, after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth; and she hoped her Parliament would agree with her, that attempts to weaken her authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the Protestant succession. Affectionate addresses were presented by the Lords, the Commons, and the Convocation: but the ill humour of party still subsisted, and was daily inflamed by new pamphlets and papers. Steele, supported by Addison and Halifax, appeared in the front of those who drew their pens in defence of whig principles; and Swift was the champion of the ministry.

The Earl of Wharton complained in the House of Lords of a libel entitled "The public spirit of the whigs set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." It was a sarcastic performance imputed to Lord Bolingbroke and Swift, interspersed with severe reflections upon the union,

The House of Lords take cognizance of a libel against the Scots.

\* The *assiento* contract stipulated, that from the first day of May, 1713, to the first of May, 1743, the company should transport into the West Indies one hundred and forty-four thousand negroes, at the rate of four thousand eight hundred negroes a year; and pay for each negro thirty-three pieces of eight and one-third, in full for all royal duties.

the Scottish nation, and the Duke of Argyle in particular. The lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew, the publisher, as well as John Barber, printer of the gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The Earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly to find out the villain who was author of that false and scandalous libel, that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He moved that Barber and his servants might be examined: but, next day, the Earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that, in pursuance to her majesty's command, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted. Notwithstanding this interposition, which was calculated to screen the offenders, the Lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered; but the author remained safe from all detection.

The Commons, having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the House of Commons, and it passed through both Houses with little difficulty. In March, a complaint was made of several scandalous papers, lately published, under the name of Richard Steele, esquire, a member of the House. Sir William Wyndham observed, that some of that author's writings contained insolent, injurious reflections on the queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion. Steele was ordered to attend in his place: some paragraphs of his works were read; and he answered them with an affected air of self-confidence and unconcern. A day being appointed for his trial, he acknowledged the writings, and entered into a more circumstantial defence. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, General Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole; and attacked by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the attorney-general. Whatever could be urged in his favour was but little regarded by the majority, which voted that

Mr. Steele  
expelled the  
House of  
Commons.

two pamphlets, entitled "The Englishman," and "The Crisis," written by Richard Steele, esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels; and that he should be expelled the House of Commons.

The Lords, taking into consideration the state of the nation, resolved upon addresses to the queen, desiring they might know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the Duke of Lorraine: that she would impart to them a detail of the negotiations for peace, a recital of the instances which had been made in favour of the Catalans, and an account of the moneys granted by Parliament since the year one thousand seven hundred and ten, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal. They afterwards agreed to other addresses, beseeching her majesty to lay before them the debts and state of the navy, the particular writs of *Noli Prosequi* granted since her accession to the throne, and a list of such persons as, notwithstanding sentence of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great Britain, or other of her majesty's dominions, since the Revolution. Having voted an application to the queen in behalf of the distressed Catalans, the House adjourned itself to the last day of March. As the minds of men had been artfully irritated by false reports of a design undertaken by France in behalf of the pretender, the ambassador of that crown at the Hague disowned it in a public paper by command of his Most Christian Majesty. The suspicions of many people, however, had been too deeply planted by the arts and insinuations of the whig leaders, to be eradicated by this or any other declaration; and what served to rivet their apprehensions was a total removal of the whigs from all the employments, civil and military, which they had hitherto retained. These were now bestowed upon professed Tories, some of whom were attached at bottom to the supposed heir of blood. At a time when the queen's views were maliciously misrepresented; when the wheels of her government were actually impeded, and her servants threatened with proscription by a powerful, turbulent, and implacable faction; no wonder that she discharged the partisans of that faction from her service, and filled their places with those who were distinguished by a warm affection to the house of Stuart, and by a submissive respect for the regal authority.

Precautions  
by the  
whigs for  
the security  
of the Pro-  
testant  
succession.

Boyer.  
Burnet.  
Tindal.  
Tercy.  
Boling-  
broke.  
Voltaire.

Those were steps which her own sagacity must have suggested; and which her ministers would naturally advise as necessary for their own preservation. The whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, that a design was formed to secure the pretender's succession to the throne of Great Britain.

An. 1714.

Their chiefs held secret consultations with Baron Schutz, the resident from Hanover. They communicated their observations to the elector; they received his instructions: they maintained a correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough; and they concerted measures for opposing all efforts that might be made against the Protestant succession upon the death of the queen, whose health was by this time so much impaired, that every week was believed to be the last of her life. This conduct of the whigs was resolute, active, and would have been laudable, had their zeal been confined within the bounds of truth and moderation; but they, moreover, employed all their arts to excite and encourage the fears and jealousies of the people.

Debates in the House of Lords concerning the pretender and the Catalans.

The House of Peers resounded with debates upon the Catalans, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the Protestant succession. With respect to the Catalonians, they represented that Great Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good. Lord Bolingbroke declared that the queen had used all her endeavours in their behalf; and that the engagements with them subsisted no longer than King Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalans, and requesting she would continue her interposition in their behalf. With respect to the pretender, the whig lords expressed such a spirit of persecution and rancorous hate as would have disgraced the members of any, even the lowest assembly of Christians. Not contented with hunting him from one country to another, they seemed eagerly bent upon extirpating him from the face of the earth, as if they had thought it was a crime in him to be born. The Earl of Sunderland declared, from the information of the minister of Lorraine, that, notwithstanding the application of both Houses to her majesty, during the last session, concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorraine, no instances had yet been

made to the duke for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke affirmed that he himself had made those instances, in the queen's name, to that very minister before his departure from England. The Earl of Wharton proposed a question; "Whether the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" A warm debate ensued, in which the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Anglesey joined in the opposition to the ministry. The earl pretended to be convinced and converted by the arguments used in the course of the debate. He owned he had given his assent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed that the honour of his sovereign and the good of his country were the rules of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold. This conversion, however, was much more owing to a full persuasion, that a ministry divided against itself could not long subsist, and that the Protestant succession was firmly secured. He therefore resolved to make a merit of withdrawing himself from the interests of a tottering administration, in whose ruin he might be involved. The Duke of Argyle charged the ministers with maladministration, both within those walls and without: he offered to prove that the lord treasurer had yearly remitted a sum of money to the highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the pretender. He affirmed that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers, on account of their affection to the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the ministry's designs: that it was a disgrace to the nation to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison for debt, on account of their pay being detained. The treasurer, laying his hand upon his breast, said, he had on so many occasions given such signal proofs of affection to the Protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had remitted, for two or three years past, between three and four thousand pounds to the highland clans; and he hoped the House would give him an opportunity to clear

his conduct in that particular : with respect to the reformed officers, he declared he had given orders for their being immediately paid. The Protestant succession was voted out of danger by a small majority.

Lord Halifax proposed an address to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorraine ; and that she would, in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the guarantee of the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The Earl of Wharton moved, that in the address her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender dead or alive. He was seconded by the Duke of Bolton ; and the House agreed that an address should be presented. When it was reported by the committee, Lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head : he proved it was an encouragement to murder and assassination ; contrary to the precepts of Christianity ; repugnant to the law of nature and nations ; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by Lord Trevor, who moved that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. The cruelty of the first clause was zealously supported and vindicated by the Lords Cowper and Halifax ; but by this time the Earl of Anglesey and some others, who had abandoned the ministry, were brought back to their former principles, by promise of profitable employment ; and the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices. To this address, which was delivered by the chancellor and the whig lords only, the queen replied in these words : " My lords, it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to my government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies which have been so industriously promoted. I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having it issued. As to the other particulars of this address, I will give proper directions therein." She was likewise importuned, by another address, to issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, popish priests, and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for

They address the queen to set a price on the head of the pretender.

adhering to the late King James and the pretender. The House resolved, that no person, not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France and Spain, should be capable of any employment civil or military; and that no person, a natural-born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were aimed at Sir Patrick Lawless, an Irish papist, who had come to England with a credential letter from King Philip, but now thought proper to quit the kingdom.

Then the lords in the opposition made an attack upon the treasurer, concerning the money he had remitted to the Highlanders; but Oxford silenced his opposers by asserting that in so doing he had followed the example of King William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the House; and Lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for considering the state of the nation with regard to the treaties of peace and commerce. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Clarendon; and the thirteenth day of April fixed for this purpose. In the mean time, Baron Schutz demanded of the chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince of Hanover to sit in the House of Peers as Duke of Cambridge, intimating that his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance; but the prince's design of coming to England was so disagreeable to the queen, that she signified her disapprobation of such a step in a letter to the Princess Sophia. She observed that such a method of proceeding would be dangerous to the succession itself, which was not secure any other way than as the prince who was in actual possession of the throne maintained her authority and prerogative: she said a great many people in England were seditiously disposed; so she left her highness to judge what tumults they might be able to raise, should they have a pretext to begin a commotion; she, therefore, persuaded herself that her aunt would not consent to any thing which might disturb the repose of her and her subjects. At the same time she wrote a letter to the electoral prince, complaining that he had formed such a resolution, without first knowing her sentiments on the subject, and telling him plainly, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tran-

A writ demanded for the Electoral Prince of Hanover, as Duke of Cambridge.

quillity of her dominions, to the right of succession in the Hanoverian line, or more disagrecable to her, than such conduct at this juncture. A third letter was written to the elector, his father; and the treasurer took this opportunity to assure that prince of his inviolable attachment to the family of Hanover.

The whig lords were dissatisfied with the queen's answer to their address concerning the pretender; and they moved for another address on the same subject, which was resolved upon, but never presented. They took into consideration the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many exceptions were taken; and much sarcasm was expended on both sides of the dispute: but at length the majority carried the question in favour of an address, acknowledging her majesty's goodness in delivering them, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France, from the burden of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. The House of Commons concurred in this address, after having voted that the Protestant succession was out of danger; but these resolutions were not taken without violent opposition, in which General Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole chiefly distinguished themselves. The letters which the queen had written to the electoral house of Hanover were printed and published in England, with a view to inform the friends of that family of the reasons which prevented the Duke of Cambridge from executing his design of residing in Great Britain. The queen considered this step as a personal insult, as well as an attempt to prejudice her in the opinion of her subjects: she therefore ordered the publisher to be taken into custody. At this period the Princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was intimated to the queen by Baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy-extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover. This princess was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. of England. She enjoyed from nature an excellent capacity, which was finely cultivated; and was in all respects one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death the court of England appeared in mourning; and the Elector of Brunswick was prayed for by name in the liturgy of the church of England. On the

Death of  
the Princess  
Sophia.  
Bill to pre-  
vent the  
growth of  
schism.



twelfth day of May, Sir William Wyndham made a motion for a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England, as by law established. The design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools and academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in each House as a species of persecution. Nevertheless, it made its way through both, and received the royal assent: but the queen dying before it took place, this law was rendered ineffectual.

Her majesty's constitution was now quite broken; one fit of sickness succeeded another: what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind, occasioned partly by the discontents which had been raised and fomented by the enemies of her government; and partly by the dissensions among her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council-chamber was turned into a scene of obstinate dispute and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards a reconciliation with the leaders of the whig party. As he foresaw it would soon be their turn to domineer, such precautions were necessary for his own safety. Bolingbroke affected to set the whigs at defiance: he professed a warm zeal for the church: he soothed the queen's inclinations with the most assiduous attention. He and his coadjutrix insinuated that the treasurer was biassed in favour of the dissenters, and even that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover. In the midst of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They flattered themselves that the queen in secret favoured the pretensions of her brother; and they depended on Bolingbroke's attachment to the same interest. They believed the same sentiments were cherished by the nation in general. They held private assemblies both in Great Britain and in Ireland. They concerted measures for turning the dissensions of the kingdom to the advantage of their cause. They even proceeded so far as to enlist men for the service of the pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the Earl of Wharton, who did not fail to sound the alarm. A proclamation was immediately published, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender whenever he should land or attempt to

Another  
against all  
who should  
list or be  
enlisted in  
a foreign  
service.

land in Great Britain. The Commons voted an address of thanks for the proclamation ; and assured her majesty that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of a hundred thousand pounds, as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms. The Lords likewise presented an address on the same subject. Lord Bolingbroke proposed a bill decreeing the penalties of high treason against those who should list or be enlisted in the pretender's service. The motion was approved, and the penalty extended to all those who should list or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a licence under the sign manual of her majesty, her heirs or successors.

On the second day of July, the Lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain ; and a great number of merchants, being examined at the bar of the House, declared, that unless the explanation of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, as made at Madrid after the treaty was signed, were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing five-and-twenty per cent. After a long debate, the House resolved to address the queen for all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the persons who advised her majesty to that treaty. To this address she replied, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty. The Earl of Wharton represented, that if so little regard was shown to the addresses of that august assembly to the sovereign, they had no business in that House. He moved for a remonstrance, to lay before her majesty the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty, and the House agreed to this motion. Another member moved, that the House should insist on her majesty's naming the person who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. This was a blow aimed at Arthur Moore, a member of the Lower House, whom Lord Bolingbroke had consulted on the subject of the treaty. He was screened by the majority in Parliament ; but a general court of the South Sea Company resolved, upon a complaint exhibited by Captain Johnson, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of

The Par-  
liament  
prorogued.

the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him : that, therefore, he should be declared incapable of being a director of, or having any employment in, this company. The queen had reserved to herself the quarter part of the assiento contract, which she now gave up to the company, and received the thanks of the Upper House ; but she would not discover the names of those who advised her to ratify the explanatory articles. On the ninth day of July she thought proper to put an end to the session, with a speech on the usual subjects. After having assured them that her chief concern was to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms, she concluded in these words : " But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be obtained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts ; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among you, be laid aside ; and unless you show the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people."

After the peace had thus received the sanction of the Parliament, the ministers, being no longer restrained by the tie of common danger, gave a loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of the public transactions ; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke charged the treasurer with having invited the Duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and maintained a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. The Duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite, Lady Masham. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July, a very acrimonious dialogue passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer affirmed he had been wronged and abused by lies and misrepresentations ; but he threatened vengeance, declaring that he would leave some people as low as he had found them when they first attracted his notice. In the mean time he was removed from his employment, and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had

The treasurer disgraced.

obtained. He laid his account with being admitted as chief minister into the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed a design of a coalition with the Duke of Marlborough, who at this very time embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had tried to play the same game, but met with a repulse from the duke, on account of the implacable resentment which the duchess had conceived against that minister.

Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. The confusion that incessantly ensued at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council on this event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. Then the committee of the council assembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kensington. The Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate situation in which she lay, repaired to the palace; and without being summoned, entered the council chamber. The members were surprised at their appearance; but the Duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired they would take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still sensible, the council unanimously agreed to recommend the Duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to fill the place of lord treasurer. When this opinion was intimated to the queen, she said, they could not have recommended a person she liked better than the Duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord chamberlain's staff, but she desired he would keep them both; so that he was at one time possessed of the three greatest posts in the kingdom, under the titles of lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. No nobleman in England better deserved such distinguishing marks of his sovereign's favour. He was modest, liberal, disinterested, and a warm friend to his country. Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated by the vigour which the

Precautions  
taken for  
securing  
the peace  
of the  
kingdom.

Dukes of Somerset and Argyle exerted on this occasion. They proposed, that all privy-counsellors in and about London should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved; and Lord Somers, with many other whig members, repaired to Kensington. The council, being thus reinforced, began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Orders were immediately despatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible expedition; an embargo was laid upon all shipping; and directions given for equipping all the ships of war that could be soonest in a condition for service. They sent a letter to the Elector of Brunswick, signifying that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life, informing him of the measures they had taken, and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron, to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease. At the same time they despatched instructions to the Earl of Strafford, to desire the States-General would be ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant succession. The heralds at arms were kept in waiting with a troop of horse-guards, to proclaim the new king as soon as the throne should become vacant. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports, to overawe the Jacobites in Scotland, and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the Earl of Berkley.

The queen continued to doze in a lethargic insensibility, with very short intervals, till the first day of August, in the morning, when she expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, Queen of Great Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well proportioned. Her hair was of the dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, or personal ambition. She was certainly deficient in that vigour of mind, by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants

Death and  
character  
of Queen  
Anne.

and favourites; but whatever her weakness in this particular might have been, the virtues of her heart were never called in question. She was a pattern of conjugal affection and fidelity, a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent mistress, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful prince, during whose reign no subject's blood was shed for treason. She was zealously attached to the church of England from conviction rather than from prepossession, unaffectedly pious, just, charitable, and compassionate. She felt a mother's fondness for her people, by whom she was universally beloved with a warmth of affection which even the prejudice of party could not abate. In a word, if she was not the greatest, she was certainly one of the best and most unblemished sovereigns that ever sat upon the throne of England, and well deserved the expressive though simple epithet of "The good Queen Anne."

## CHAPTER XII.

## GEORGE I.

STATE OF PARTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN. — KING GEORGE PROCLAIMED. — THE CIVIL LIST GRANTED TO HIS MAJESTY BY THE PARLIAMENT. — THE ELECTORAL PRINCE CREATED PRINCE OF WALES. — THE KING ARRIVES IN ENGLAND. — THE TORIES TOTALLY EXCLUDED FROM THE ROYAL FAVOUR. — PRETENDER'S MANIFESTO. — NEW PARLIAMENT. — SUBSTANCE OF THE KING'S FIRST SPEECH. — LORD BOLINGBROKE WITHDRAWS HIMSELF TO FRANCE. — SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM REPRIMANDED BY THE SPEAKER. — COMMITTEE OF SEGRECY. — SIR JOHN NORRIS SENT WITH A FLEET TO THE BALTIC. — DISCONTENT OF THE NATION. — REPORT OF THE SECRET COMMITTEE. — RESOLUTIONS TO IMPEACH LORD BOLINGBROKE, THE EARL OF OXFORD, THE DUKE OF ORMOND, AND THE EARL OF STRAFFORD. — THE EARL OF OXFORD SENT TO THE TOWER. — THE PROCLAMATION ACT. — THE KING DECLARES TO BOTH HOUSES THAT A REBELLION IS BEGUN. — THE DUKE OF ORMOND AND LORD BOLINGBROKE ATTAINED. — INTRIGUES OF THE JACOBITES. — DEATH OF LOUIS XIV. — THE EARL OF MAR SETS UP THE PRETENDER'S STANDARD IN SCOTLAND. — DIVERSE MEMBERS OF THE LOWER HOUSE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY. — THE PRETENDER PROCLAIMED IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND BY THE EARL OF DERWENTWATER AND MR. FORSTER. — MACKINTOSH CROSSES THE FRITH OF FORTH INTO LOCHIAN, AND JOINS THE ENGLISH INSURGENTS. — WHO ARE ATTACKED AT PRESTON, AND SURRENDER AT DISCRETION. — BATTLE OF DUNBLAINE. — THE PRETENDER ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND. — HE RETIRES AGAIN TO FRANCE. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT. — THE REBEL LORDS ARE IMPEACHED AND PLEAD GUILTY. — THE EARL OF DERWENTWATER AND LORD KENMUR ARE BEHEADED. — TRIALS OF REBELS. — ACT FOR SEPTENNIAL PARLIAMENTS. — THE DUKE OF ARBYLE DISGRACED. — TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND HOLLAND. — COUNT GYLLENBURGH, THE SWEDISH MINISTER IN LONDON, ARRESTED. — ACCOUNT OF THE OXFORD RIOT. — THE KING DEMANDS AN EXTRAORDINARY SUPPLY OF THE COMMONS. — DIVISION IN THE MINISTRY. — THE COMMONS PASS THE SOUTH-SEA ACT, THE BANK ACT, AND THE GENERAL FUND ACT. — TRIAL OF THE EARL OF OXFORD. — ACT OF INDEMNITY. — PROCEEDINGS IN THE CONVOCATION WITH REGARD TO DR. HOADLEY, BISHOP OF BANGOR.

It may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of party at this important juncture. The Jacobites had been fed with hopes of seeing the succession altered by the Earl of Oxford. These hopes he had conveyed to them in a distant, undeterminate, and mysterious manner, without any other view than that of preventing them from taking violent measures to embarrass his administration. At least, if he actually entertained at at one time any other design, he had, long before his disgrace, laid it wholly aside, probably from an apprehension of the danger with which it must have been attended, and seemed bent upon making a merit of his zeal for the house of Hanover ; but his conduct was so equivocal and unsteady, that he ruined himself in the opinion of one party, without

1714.  
State of  
parties in  
Great  
Britain.

acquiring the confidence of the other. The friends of the pretender derived fresh hopes from the ministry of Bolingbroke. Though he had never explained himself on this subject, he was supposed to favour the heir of blood, and known to be an implacable enemy to the whigs, who were the most zealous advocates for the Protestant succession. The Jacobites promised themselves much from his affection, but more from his resentment; and they believed the majority of the tories would join them on the same maxims. All Bolingbroke's schemes of power were defeated by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the office of treasurer; and all his hopes blasted by the death of the queen, on whose personal favour he depended. The resolute behaviour of the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, together with the diligence and activity of a council in which the whig interest had gained the ascendancy, completed the confusion of the tories, who found themselves without a head, divided, distracted, and irresolute. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible as silence, and submission to those measures which they could not oppose with any prospect of success. They had no other objection to the succession in the house of Hanover but the fear of seeing the whig faction once more predominant; yet they were not without hope that their new sovereign, who was reputed a prince of sagacity and experience, would cultivate and conciliate the affection of the tories, who were the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, rather than declare himself the head of a faction which leaned for support on those who were enemies to the church and monarchy, on the bank and the monied interest, raised upon usury, and maintained by corruption. In a word, the whigs were elated and overbearing; the tories abashed and humble; the Jacobites eager, impatient, and alarmed at a juncture which, with respect to them, was truly critical.

The queen had no sooner resigned her last breath than the privy council met, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, and the Hanoverian resident, Kreyenberg, produced the three instruments in which the Elector of Brunswick had nominated the persons<sup>a</sup> to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of the realm. Orders were immediately issued for pro-

King  
George  
proclaimed.

<sup>a</sup> These were the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the Earls of Pomfret, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham, Abingdon, Scarborough, and Orford; Lord Viscount Townshend, and Lords Halifax and Cowper.



claiming King George, in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the intimation of his majesty's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers in whom they could confide to their respective posts: they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth: they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary: while Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber with his bag and papers, and underwent every species of mortification. On the whole, King George ascended the throne of Great Britain in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the least opposition, tumult, or sign of popular discontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully persuaded that no design had ever been concerted by Queen Anne and her ministry in favour of the pretender. The mayor of Oxford received a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. Secretary Bromley, member of Parliament for the university; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person who should discover the author. It was either the production of some lunatic, or a weak contrivance to fix an odium on that venerable body.

The Parliament having assembled pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both Houses in the name of the regency. He told them, that the privy council appointed by the Elector of Brunswick had proclaimed that prince, under the name of King George, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms; and that they had taken the necessary care to maintain the public peace. He observed, that the several branches of the public revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty; and recommended to the Commons the making such provision, in that respect, as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown. He likewise expressed his hope, that they would not be wanting in anything that might conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit. Both Houses immediately agreed to addresses, containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection to their new sovereign, who did not fail to return such answers as were very agreeable to the Parliament of Great Britain. In the mean time the Lower House

The civil list granted to his majesty by the Parliament.

prepared and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil list which the queen had enjoyed, with additional clauses for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover which had been in the service of Great Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by the treasury to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Mr. Craggs, who had been despatched to Hanover before the queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the House of Peers; then the chancellor, in another speech to both Houses, intimated his majesty's great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession. Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The Commons finished the bill for the civil list, and one for making some alterations in an act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the lords justices. Then the Parliament was prorogued.

Mr. Prior, having notified the queen's death to the court of Versailles, Louis declared that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The Earl of Strafford having signified the same event to the states of Holland, and the resident of Hanover having presented them with a letter, in which his master claimed the performance of their guarantee, they resolved to perform their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness on his accession to the throne of Great Britain. They invited him to pass through their dominions, and assured him that his interests were as dear to them as their own. The Chevalier de St. George no sooner received the news of the queen's death than he posted to Versailles, where he was given to understand that the King of France expected he should quit his territories immediately, and he was accordingly obliged to return to Lorraine. By this time Mr. Murray had arrived in England from Hanover, with notice that the king had deferred his departure for some days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the prince royal Prince of Wales, and for removing Lord Bolingbroke from his post of secretary. The seals were taken from this minister by the Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and

The elec-  
toral prince  
created  
Prince of  
Wales.

Lord Cowper, who at the same time sealed up all the doors of his office.

King George having vested the government of his German dominions in a council, headed by his brother Prince Ernest, set out with the electoral Prince from Herrenhausen, on the thirty-first day of August; and in five days arrived at the Hague, where he conferred with the States-General. On the sixteenth day of September he embarked at Orange Poldar, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the Earl of Berkley; and next day arrived at the Hope. In the afternoon the yacht sailed up the river; and his majesty with the prince were landed from a barge at Greenwich about six in the evening. There he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss the hand as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession; but the Duke of Ormond, the lord chancellor, and Lord Trevor, were not of the number. Next morning, the Earl of Oxford presented himself with an air of confidence, as if he had expected to receive some particular mark of his majesty's favour; but he had the mortification to remain a considerable time undistinguished among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the Duke of Marlborough, who had lately arrived in England, as well as for all the leaders of the whig party.

It was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a very great prejudice to the nation, that he had been misled into strong prepossessions against the tories, who constituted such a considerable part of his subjects. They were now excluded from all share of the royal favour, which was wholly engrossed by their enemies: these early marks of aversion, which he was at no pains to conceal, alienated the minds of many from his person and government, who would otherwise have served him with fidelity and affection. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The Duke

The king  
arrives in  
England.

The tories  
totally ex-  
cluded from  
the royal  
favour.

of Ormond was dismissed from his command, which the king restored to the Duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. The great seal was given to Lord Cowper; the privy seal to the Earl of Wharton; the government of Ireland to the Earl of Sunderland. The Duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household: Lord Townshend and Mr. Stanhope were appointed secretaries of state: the post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon the Duke of Montrose. The Duke of Somerset was constituted master of the horse; the Duke of St. Alban's captain of the band of pensioners; and the Duke of Argyle commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney became secretary at war; and Mr. Walpole, who had already undertaken to manage the House of Commons, was gratified with the double place of paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital. A new privy council was appointed, and the Earl of Nottingham declared president; but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet council, or *junto*, composed of the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lords Halifax, Townshend, and Somers, and General Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the Archbishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices of Ireland, and filled their places in the regency of that kingdom with the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare. Allen Broderick was appointed chancellor: another privy council was formed, and the Duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The treasury and admiralty were put into commission; all the governments were changed; and, in a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the whigs. At the same time, the prince royal was declared Prince of Wales, and took his place in council. The king was congratulated on his accession in addresses from the two universities, and from all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these expressions of loyalty and affection. He declared in council his firm purpose to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland as they were by law established: an aim which he imagined might be effectually accomplished, without impairing the toleration allowed by law to Protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: he, moreover, assured them he would earnestly

endeavour to render property secure; the good effects of which were nowhere so clearly seen as in this happy nation. Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were promoted to higher titles.<sup>b</sup> On the twentieth day of October, he was crowned in Westminster Abbey with the usual solemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke assisted.<sup>c</sup> On that very day the university of Oxford, in full convocation, unanimously conferred the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem. As the French king was said to protract the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished. The answer which he received being deemed equivocal, this minister was recalled, and the Earl of Stair appointed ambassador to the court of France, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. About the same time, General Cadogan was sent as plenipotentiary to Antwerp, to assist at the barrier treaty, negotiated there between the emperor and the States-General.

Meanwhile the number of the malecontents in England was considerably increased by the king's attachment to the whig faction. The clamour of the church's <sup>Pretender's</sup> manifesto being in danger was revived; jealousies were excited; seditious libels dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading were filled with licentious riot. The party cry was, "Down with the whigs! Sacheverel for ever!" Many gentlemen of the whig faction were abused; magistrates in towns, and justices in the country, were reviled and insulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The pretender took this opportunity to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction. In this declaration he mentioned the good intentions of his sister towards him, which

<sup>b</sup> James, Lord Chandos, was created Earl of Caernarvon; Lewis, Lord Rockingham, Earl of that name; Charles, Lord Ossulston, Earl of Tankerville; Charles, Lord Halifax, Earl of Halifax; Henesse, Lord Guernsey, Earl of Aylesford; John, Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol; Thomas, Lord Pelham, Earl of Clare; Henry, Earl of Thomond, in Ireland, Viscount Tadmester; James, Viscount Castleton, in Ireland, Baron Sanderson; Bennet, Lord Sherrard, in Ireland, Baron of Harborough; Gervase, Lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, Baron Pierrepont, in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, Baron of Carleton, in the county of York; Sir Richard Temple, Baron of Cobham; Henry, Lord Paget, Earl of Uxbridge.

<sup>c</sup> In the month of October the Princess of Wales arrived in England with her two eldest daughters, the Princesses Anne and Amelia.

were prevented by her deplorable death. He observed that his people, instead of doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate. These papers being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the Marquis de Lambert, minister from the Duke of Lorraine, on the supposition that this manifesto could not have been prepared or transmitted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having communicated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the transaction, and declared that the Chevalier de St. George came into Lorraine by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige without exposing his territories to invasion. Notwithstanding this apology, the marquis was given to understand that he could not be admitted to an audience until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master : he, therefore, quitted the kingdom without further hesitation. Religion was still mingled in all political disputes. The high-churchmen complained that impiety and heresy daily gained ground, from the connivance, or at least the supine negligence, of the whig prelates. The Lower House of Convocation had, before the queen's death, declared that a book published by Dr. Samuel Clarke under the title of "The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the Catholic faith. They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops ; and the doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was prevailed upon to write an apology, which he presented to the Upper House ; but apprehending it might be published separately, and misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the Bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops ; but the Lower House resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions. The disputes about the Trinity increasing, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the Christian faith concerning the holy Trinity, and for maintaining the peace and quiet of the state. By these every preacher was restricted from delivering any other doctrine than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures with respect to the Trinity ; and from intermeddling in any affairs of state or government. The like

prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

The Parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king New Parliament. complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession; and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He mentioned the perplexity of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, and the heavy debts of the nation. He expressed his hope that his loving subjects would send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; and that in the elections, they would have a particular regard to such as had expressed a firm attachment to the Protestant succession when it was in danger. It does not appear that the Protestant succession was ever in danger. How then was this declaration to be interpreted? People in general construed it into a design to maintain party distinctions, and encourage the whigs to the full exertion of their influence in the elections; into a renunciation of the tories; and as the first flash of that vengeance which was afterwards seen to burst upon the heads of the late ministry. When the Earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the conduct of Oxford's administration. Uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides in the elections; but, by dint of the monied interest, which prevailed in most of the corporations through the kingdom, and the countenance of the ministry, which will always have weight with needy and venal electors, a great majority of whigs was returned both in England and Scotland.

When this new Parliament assembled on the seventeenth day of March at Westminster, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the Commons. On the twenty-first day of the month, the king appeared in the House of Lords, and delivered to the chancellor a written speech, which was read in presence of both Houses. His majesty thanked his faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness they had shown in defence of the Protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it. He told them that some conditions of the peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, were not yet duly executed; and that the

Substance  
of the king's  
first speech.

performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guarantee the present treaties. He observed, that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointment; that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and that the public debts were surprisingly increased ever since the fatal cessation of arms. He gave the Commons to understand that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government were so far encumbered and alienated that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown; that as it was his and their happiness to see a Prince of Wales who might in due time succeed him on the throne, and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expense to which the nation had not been for many years accustomed; and, therefore, he did not doubt but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his Commons. He desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country. He declared, that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the chief care of his life. He concluded with expressing his confidence that with their assistance he should disappoint the designs of those who wanted to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued—the affection of his people.

Speeches suggested by a vindictive ministry better became the leader of an incensed party than the father and sovereign of a divided people. This declaration portended measures which it was the interest of the crown to avoid, and suited the temper of the majority in both Houses, which breathed nothing but destruction to their political adversaries. The Lords, in their address of thanks, professed their hope that his majesty, assisted by the Parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts, the loss of which they hoped to convince the world by their actions was by no means to be imputed to the nation in general. The tories said this was an invidious reflection, calculated

Lord Bol-  
ingbroke  
withdraws  
himself to  
France.



to mislead and inflame the people; for the reputation of the kingdom had never been so high as at this very juncture. The Commons pretended astonishment to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such alliances as might have rendered the peace not precarious. They declared their resolution to inquire into these fatal mis-carriages; to trace out those measures whereon the pretender placed his hopes, and bring the authors of them to condign punishment. These addresses were not voted without opposition. In the House of Lords, the Dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the Archbishop of York, and other peers, both secular and ecclesiastical, observed, that their address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would serve only to increase those unhappy divisions that distracted the kingdom. In the Lower House, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, General Ross, Sir William Whitlock, and other members, took exceptions to passages of the same nature, in the address which the Commons had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Secretary Stanhope. These gentlemen took occasion to declare, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm; that those matters would soon be laid before the House, when it would appear that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Mareschal de Villars. Lord Bolingbroke, who had hitherto appeared in public, as usual, with remarkable serenity, and spoke in the House of Lords with great freedom and confidence, thought it was now high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter which was afterwards printed in his justification. In this paper, he declared he had received certain and repeated informations, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold; that if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by the two Houses of Parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination. He challenged the most

Boyer.  
Torcy.  
Tindal.  
Boling-  
broke.  
Voltaire.

inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned. He said, if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress and the true interest of his country had any where transported him to let slip a warm and unguarded expression, he hoped the most favourable interpretation would be put upon it. He affirmed, that he had served her majesty faithfully and dutifully in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever.

In the midst of all this violence against the late ministers, friends were not wanting to espouse their cause in the face of opposition; and even in some addresses to the king their conduct was justified. Nay, some individuals had courage enough to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the House of Commons, to consider the king's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, Sir William Whitelock, member for the university of Oxford, boldly declared it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless, Sir William Wyndham, rising up, said, the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge, he observed, that every member was free to speak his thoughts. Some exclaimed, "The Tower! the Tower!" A warm debate ensued: Sir William, being ordered to withdraw, was accompanied by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and those who remained in the House resolved that he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly rebuked for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation, and having made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of a breach of privilege: that he acquiesced in the determination of the House; but had no thanks to give to those gentlemen who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

1715.  
Sir William  
Wyndham  
reprimand-  
ed by the  
speaker.

On the ninth day of April, General Stanhope delivered to the House of Commons fourteen volumes, consisting of all the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the House. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot, and met that same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, original chairman, being taken ill, was succeeded in that place by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three committees: to each a certain number of books was allotted; and they carried on the inquiry with great eagerness and expedition. Before this measure was taken, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, died of a pleuritic fever, in the seventy-second year of his age. Immediately after the committee had begun to act, the whig party lost one of their warmest champions, by the death of the Marquis of Wharton, a nobleman possessed of happy talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life; talents which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not prevent him from employing with surprising vigour and application. The Committee of the Lower House, taking the civil list into consideration, examined several papers relating to that revenue. The tories observed, that from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to King William, fifty thousand pounds were allotted to the late queen, when Princess of Denmark, twenty thousand pounds to the Duke of Gloucester, and twice that sum, as a dowry, to James's queen: that near two hundred thousand pounds had been yearly deducted from the revenues of the late queen's civil list, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown. In the course of the debate some warm altercation passed between Lord Guernsey and one of the members, who affirmed that the late ministry had used the whigs, and indeed the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed hardship. At length the House agreed that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds clear should be granted for the civil list during his majesty's life. A motion being made for an address

against pensions, it was opposed by Mr. Walpole, and overruled by the majority. The Lords passed the bill for regulating the land forces, with some amendments.

On the eighteenth day of May, Sir John Norris sailed with a strong squadron to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the King of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and the States-General had presented memorials to the regency of Sweden; but finding no redress, they resolved to protect their trade by force of arms. After the Swedish general, Steenboch, and his army were made prisoners, Count Wellen concluded a treaty with the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the King of Prussia; the administrator engaged to secure them, and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania, from the Poles and Muscovites; but, as the governor of Pomerania refused to comply with this treaty, those allies marched into the province, subdued the island of Rugen, and obliged Stetin to surrender. Then the governor consented to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rix-dollars, to indemnify them for the expense of the siege. The King of Sweden, returning from Turkey, rejected the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his repaying the money. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastise his false friend, King George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the King of Denmark, by which the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the Swedes in his absence, were made over to his Britannic majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden. Accordingly he took possession of the duchies in October; published a declaration of war against Charles in his German dominions; and detached six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies reduced the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and attacked the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last

Sir John  
Norris sent  
with a fleet  
to the  
Baltic.

place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen. He assembled a body of troops with which he proposed to pass the Sound upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen, but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlsroon, in order to hasten his fleet for the relief of Wismar.

The spirit of discontent and disaffection seemed to gain ground every day in England. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated <sup>Discontent of the nation.</sup> tumults were raised by the malecontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the king's birthday with the usual marks of joy and festivity were insulted by the populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the life-guards, who patrolled through the streets, to join in the cry of "High-church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of King William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a school-master, who affirmed that King George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city, with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the king's palace, and into that which belonged to the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment, in marching through the city, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court, being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication, did not acquit that general of suspicion that he was concerned in this mean species of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person that would discover one Captain Wright, who, by an intercepted letter, appeared

to be disaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet, directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers, being found in this packet were transmitted to England; Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

The House of Lords, to demonstrate their abhorrence of all who should engage in conspiracies against their sovereign, rejected with indignation a petition presented to them in behalf of Blackburn, Casils, Barnarde, Meldrum, and Chambers, who had hitherto continued prisoners, for having conspired against the life of King William. On the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the secret committee, declared to the House of Commons that the report was ready; and in the mean time moved that a warrant might be issued by Mr. Speaker, for apprehending several persons, particularly Mr. Matthew Prior and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the House, were immediately taken into custody. Then he recited the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negotiation with Monsieur Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers; the negotiation about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy; the fatal suspension of arms; the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies and favour the French; the Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; the Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; Mr. Prior's and the Duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France; the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht. The report being read, Sir Thomas Hanmer moved that the consideration of it should be adjourned to a certain day; and that in the mean time the report should be printed for the perusal of the members: he was seconded by the Tories; a debate ensued; and the motion was rejected by a great majority.

This point being gained, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford declared his opinion, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to Lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason; and General Ross expressed the same sentiment. Then Lord Coningsby

Report of  
the secret  
committee.

standing up, "The worthy chairman (said he) has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk, and I the justice: he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanours." Mr. Auditor Harley, the earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his sovereign; that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two Parliaments; and that the facts charged to him in the report amounted only to misdemeanours: if the sanction of a Parliament, which is the representative and legislature of the nation, be not sufficient to protect a minister from the vengeance of his enemies, he can have no security. Mr. Auditor Foley, the earl's brother-in-law, made a speech to the same purpose; Sir Joseph Jekyll, a stanch whig, and member of the secret committee, expressed his doubt, whether they had sufficient matter or evidence to impeach the earl of high-treason. Nevertheless, the House resolved to impeach him, without a division. When he appeared in the House of Lords next day, he found himself avoided by his brother peers as infectious; and retired with signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole informed the House that matters of such importance appeared in Prior's examination, that he was directed to move them for that member's being closely confined. Prior was accordingly imprisoned, and cut off from all communication. On the twenty-first day of June, Mr. Secretary Stanhope impeached James, Duke of Ormond, of high-treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Archibald Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in favour of the duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications: he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors: he observed, that in the whole course of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and he affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in the rigour of the law, be construed into high-treason. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by General Lumley, who urged that the Duke of Ormond had on all

Resolutions  
to impeach  
Lord Bol-  
ingbroke,  
the Earl of  
Oxford, the  
Duke of  
Ormond,  
and the  
Earl of  
Strafford.

occasions given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage; and that he had generously expended the best part of his estate, by living abroad in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his sovereign. Sir Joseph Jekyll said, if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shown to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had in a course of many years exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country; that, as the statute of Edward III., on which the charge of high-treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. General Ross, Sir William Wyndham, and the speakers of that party, did not abandon the duke in this emergency; but all their arguments and eloquence were lost upon the other faction, by which they were greatly outnumbered. The question being put, was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who, perceiving every thing conducted by a furious spirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, consulted his own safety by withdrawing himself from the kingdom. On the twenty-second day of June, the Earl of Strafford was likewise impeached by Mr. Aislaby, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; as well as for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. He was also defended by his friends, but overpowered by his enemies.

When the articles against the Earl of Oxford were read in the House, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General. The question being put, whether this article amounted to high-treason, Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham and the torics, but also by Sir Joseph Jekyll. This honest patriot said it was ever his principle to do justice to every body, from the highest to the lowest; and that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom; and would not

The Earl  
of Oxford  
sent to the  
Tower.  
The procla-  
mation act.



scruple to declare, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason. Mr. Walpole answered with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and who were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the House, Lord Coningsby, attended by the whig members, impeached the Earl of Oxford at the bar of the House of Lords, demanding at the same time, that he might be sequestered from Parliament, and committed to safe custody. A motion was made, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. After a short debate the articles were read; then the tory lords moved that the judges might be consulted. The motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody; this occasioned another debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose: that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusion of the peace; that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny; that the conditions of the peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctancy which some of the allies showed to come in to the queen's measures; that the peace was approved by two successive Parliaments; that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman who had thought fit to step aside: that, for his own part, he always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law; and being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man; that, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it might one day or other be the case with all the members of that august assembly; that he did not doubt their lordships, out of regard to themselves, would give him an equitable hearing; and that in the prosecution of the inquiry it would appear he had merited not only the indulgence, but even the favour of his government. "My lords (said he), I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable House, perhaps for ever; I shall lay

down my life with pleasure in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. When I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content; and, my lords, God's will be done." The Duke of Shrewsbury having acquainted the house that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at his own house, in custody of the black rod: in his way thither he was attended by a great multitude of people, crying, "High-church, Ormond, and Oxford, for ever!" Next day he was brought to the bar; where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though Dr. Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower his life would be in danger, it was carried, on a division, that he should be conveyed thither on the sixteenth day of July. During the debate, the Earl of Anglesey observed that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This expression kindled the whole House into a flame. Some members cried, "To the Tower!" some, "To order!" The Earl of Sunderland declared, that if these words had been spoken in another place he would have called the person who spoke them to an account; in the mean time he moved that the noble lord should explain himself. Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the House, was glad to make an apology; which was accepted. The Earl of Oxford was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who did not scruple to exclaim against his persecutors. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire and other parts of the kingdom, against the whig party, which had depressed the friends of the church, and embroiled the nation. The House of Commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. They prepared the proclamation act, decreeing, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy.

When the king went to the House of Peers, on the twentieth day of July, to give the royal assent to this and

some other bills, he told both Houses that a rebellion was actually begun at home, and that the nation was threatened with an invasion from abroad. He, therefore, expected that the Commons would not leave the kingdom in a defenceless condition, but enable him to take such measures as should be necessary for the public safety. Addresses in the usual style were immediately presented by the Parliament, the convocation, the common council and lieutenancy of London, and the two universities; but that of Oxford was received in the most contemptuous manner; and the deputies were charged with disloyalty, on account of a fray which had happened between some recruiting officers and the scholars of the university. The addresses from the kirk of Scotland, and the dissenting ministers of London and Westminster, met with a much more gracious reception. The Parliament forthwith passed a bill, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the habeas corpus act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a money bill, offering the reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: General Earle repaired to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde Park: Lord Irwin was appointed governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who, together with Lord Windsor, the Generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry; and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults. In the midst of these transactions the Commons added six articles to those exhibited against the Earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Walpole. Bills being brought in to summon him and the Duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth of September, or, in default thereof, to attain them of high-treason, they passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. On the last day of August, the Commons agreed to the articles against the Earl of Strafford, which being presented to the House of Lords, the earl made a speech in his own vindication. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, if he had in his letters or discourse dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers while

The king declares to both Houses that a rebellion is begun.

he had the honour to represent the crown of Great Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British House of Peers: he desired he might be allowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of government, to be used occasionally in his justification. This request was vehemently opposed by the leaders of the other party, until the Earl of Ilay represented that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. This observation made an impression on the House, which resolved that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might have occasion to use in his defence.

On the third day of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the House of Lords, who transmitted it to the Commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, said it contained little more than a repetition of what had been suggested in some pamphlets and papers which had been published in vindication of the late ministry: that it was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his royal mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country; that it was likewise a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the House resolved, that the answer of Robert Earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords; and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the Lords. Then the committee reported, that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Viscount Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within the time limited, the House of Lords ordered the earl-marshal to raze out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were

The Duke  
of Ormond  
and Lord  
Bolingbroke  
attainted.

taken of their personal estates; and the duke's achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor. A man of candour cannot, without an emotion of grief and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the person of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman, to whom no crime was imputed but that of having obeyed the commands of his sovereign. About this period, the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this law, the tenant who continued peaceable while his lord took arms in favour of the pretender was invested with the property of the lands he rented: on the other hand, it was decreed that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason should revert to the superior of whom they were held, and be consolidated with the superiority; and that all entails and settlements of estates, since the first day of August, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour, on pain of being denounced rebels. By virtue of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans, and other suspected persons, were summoned to Edinburgh; and those who did not appear were declared rebels.

By this time the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland. The dissensions occasioned in that country by the union had never been wholly appeased. Even since the queen's death, addresses were prepared in different parts of Scotland against the union, which was deemed a national grievance; and the Jacobites did not fail to encourage this aversion. Though their hopes of dissolving that treaty were baffled by the industry and other arts of the revolutioners, who secured a majority of whigs in Parliament, they did not lay aside their designs of attempting something of consequence in favour of the pretender; but maintained a correspondence with the malecontents of England, a great number of whom were driven by apprehension, hard usage, and resentment, into a system of politics, which otherwise they would not have espoused. The tories, finding themselves totally excluded from any share in the government and legislature, and exposed to the insolence and fury of a faction which they despised, began to wish in earnest for a revolution. Some of them held private consultations, and

*Intrigues of  
the Jacob-  
ites.*

communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their sentiments to the Chevalier de St. George, with such exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerness and extravagance. They assured the pretender that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government; and, indeed, the clamours, tumults, and conversation of the people in general countenanced this assertion. They promised to take arms without further delay in his favour; and engaged that the tories should join him at his first landing in Great Britain. They, therefore, besought him to come over with all possible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution. The chevalier resolved to take the advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who had always been the refuge of his family. Louis favoured him in secret; and, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, cherished the ambition of raising him to the throne of Great Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money, to prepare a small armament in the port of Havre, which was equipped in the name of Depine d'Anicaut; and, without all doubt, his design was to assist him more effectually, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the house of Stuart. The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, finding themselves condemned unheard, and attainted, engaged in the service of the chevalier, and corresponded with the tories of England.

All these intrigues and machinations were discovered and communicated to the court of London by the Earl of Death of Louis XIV. Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris. He was a nobleman of unquestioned honour and integrity, generous, humane, discerning, and resolute. He had signalized himself by his valour, intrepidity, and other military talents, during the war in the Netherlands; and he now acted in another sphere with uncommon vigour, vigilance, and address. He detected the chevalier's scheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave such early notice of it as enabled the King of Great Britain to take effectual measures for defeating the design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Louis XIV., that ostentatious tyrant, who had for above half a century sacrificed the repose of Christendom to his insatiate vanity and ambition. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the Duke of Orleans,

who adopted a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the King of Great Britain. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused his agents with mysterious and equivocal expressions, calculated to frustrate the design of the expedition. Nevertheless, the more violent part of the Jacobites in Great Britain believed he was at bottom a friend to their cause, and depended upon him for succour. They even extorted from him a sum of money by dint of importunities, and some arms; but the vessel was shipwrecked, and the cargo lost upon the coast of Scotland.

The partisans of the pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with safety, and, therefore, resolved to try their fortune in the field. The Earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the Marquises of Huntley and Tullibardine, the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the Generals Hamilton and Gordon, with the chiefs of the Jacobite clans. Then he assembled three hundred of his own vassals; proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Braemar, on the sixth day of September. By this time the Earls of Home, Wintoun, and Kinnoul, Lord Deskford, and Lockhart of Carnwath, with other persons suspected of disaffection to the present government, were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh, and Major-General Whetham marched with the regular troops which were in that kingdom to secure the bridge at Stirling. Before these precautions were taken, two vessels had arrived at Arbroath from Havre, with arms, ammunition, and a great number of officers, who assured the Earl of Mar, that the pretender would soon be with them in person. The death of Louis XIV. struck a general damp upon their spirits; but they laid their account with being joined by a powerful body in England. The Earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the chevalier to come over without further delay. He, in the mean time, assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, and published a declaration, exhorting the people to take arms for their lawful sovereign. This was followed by a shrewd manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress. Some of his partisans attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were prevented by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in

The Earl of Mar sets up the pretender's standard in Scotland.

North Britain: the Earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough ship of war for the North, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country in order to signalize their loyalty to King George.

In England the practices of the Jacobites did not escape the notice of the ministry. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul was imprisoned in the gate-house for enlisting men in the service of the pretender. The titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: Lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody; and a warrant was issued for apprehending the Earl of Jersey. The king desired the consent of the Lower House to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the House, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The Commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address, signifying their approbation. Harvey and Anstis were immediately secured. Forster, with the assistance of some popish lords, assembled a body of men in Northumberland: Sir John Packington being examined before the council was dismissed for want of evidence: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire by Colonel Huske and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them; but afterwards surrendered himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower. His father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment so warmly, that the king thought proper to remove him from the office of master of the horse. On the twenty-first day of September, the king went to the House of Lords, and passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent. Then the chancellor read his majesty's speech expressing his acknowledgment and satisfaction, in consequence of the uncommon marks of their affection he had received; and the Parliament adjourned to the sixth day of October.

The friends of the house of Stuart were very numerous in the western counties, and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and formed a design to surprise Bristol; but they

Divers  
members  
of the  
Lower  
House  
taken into  
custody.



were betrayed and discovered by the emissaries of the government, which baffled all their schemes, and apprehended every person of consequence suspected of attachment to that cause. The university of Oxford felt the rod of power on this occasion. Major-General Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at daybreak, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven persons, among whom was one Lloyd, a coffeeman; and made prize of some horses and furniture belonging to Colonel Owen, and other gentlemen. With this booty he retreated to Abingdon; and Handasyde's regiment of foot was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university. The ministry found it more difficult to suppress the insurgents in the northern counties. In the month of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster took the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut upon them, and retired to Hexham; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle, and attack them before they should be reinforced. The rebels, retiring northward to Wooller, were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the Lord Viscount Kenmuir, and the Earls of Carnwath and Wintoun, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat, and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. The rebels thus reinforced advanced to Kelso, having received advice that they would be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

By this time the Earl of Mar was at the head of ten thousand men well armed. He had secured the pass of the Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites in that county, or such as should take arms on the borders of England. Boats were assembled

The pretender proclaimed in the north of England by the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster.

Mackintosh crosses the Frith of Forth into Lothian, and joins the English insurgents.

for this purpose; and notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken by the king's ships in the Frith to prevent the design, above fifteen hundred chosen men made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in open boats that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers. Nothing could be better concerted, or executed with more conduct and courage, than was this hazardous enterprise. They amused the king's ships with marches and counter-marches along the coast, in such a manner that they could not possibly know where they intended to embark. The Earl of Mar, in the mean time, marched from Perth to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but his real design was to divert the Duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment which had landed in Lothian. So far the scheme succeeded. The duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh, and obliged Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This partisan had actually taken possession of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-Pans, which he fortified in such a manner that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he remained until he received an order to cross the Frith from the Earl of Mar, to join Lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he immediately began his march, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though a good number of his men had deserted on the route.

The Lord Kenmuir, with the Earls of Wintoun, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, the Earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Forster, with the English insurgents, arriving at the same time, a council of war was immediately called. Wintoun proposed that they should march immediately into the western parts of Scotland and join General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon crossing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, whose troops did not exceed nine hundred dragoons. Neither scheme was executed. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they resolved to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country; but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the Earl of Wintoun.

Who are  
attacked at  
Preston,  
and surren-  
der at dis-  
cretion.

Means, however, were found to prevail upon one half of them to advance, while the rest returned to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster opened his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the Earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled the whole posse-comitatus of Cumberland, amounting to twelve thousand men, who dispersed with the utmost precipitation at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster proceeded by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia, immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble before Forster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the twelfth day of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared they would make a sally sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt, but they were overruled. Forster sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to General Willis, to propose a capitulation. He was given to understand that the general would not treat with rebels; but in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from putting them to the sword, until he should receive further orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the Earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages. When Forster submitted, this Highlander declared he could not promise that the Scots would surrender in that manner. The general desired him to return to his people, and he would forthwith attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut to pieces. The Scottish nobleman did not choose to run the risk, and persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and

leaders were secured. Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Erskine, were tried by a court martial as deserters, and executed. Lord Charles Murray, son of the Duke of Athol, was likewise condemned for the same crime, but reprieved. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and to Newgate.

The day on which the rebels surrendered at Preston was remarkable for the battle of Battle of Dumblaine. Dumblaine, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the pretender's forces. This nobleman had retreated to his camp at Perth, when he understood the duke was returned from Lothian to Stirling. But being now joined by the northern clans under the Earl of Seaforth, and those of the west commanded by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the service of the Czar of Muscovy, he resolved to pass the Forth, in order to join his southern friends, that they might march together into England. With this view he advanced to Auchterarder, where he reviewed his army, and rested on the eleventh day of November. The Duke of Argyle, apprised of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine. On the twelfth day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Stirling, and encamped with his left at the village of Dumblaine, and his right towards Sheriffmoor. The Earl of Mar advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till daybreak in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning the duke, understanding they were in motion, drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine; but he was outflanked both on the right and left. The clans that formed part of the centre and right wing of the enemy, with Glengary and Clanronald at their head, charged the left of the king's army sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter; and General Whetham, who commanded them, fled at full gallop to Stirling, where he declared that the royal army was totally defeated. In the mean time, the

Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stair's and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allan: yet in that space they wheeled about, and attempted to rally ten times; so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. Brigadier Wightman followed, in order to sustain him with three battalions of infantry; while the victorious right wing of the rebels, having pursued Wetham a considerable way, returned to the field, and formed in the rear of Wightman to the amount of five thousand men. The Duke of Argyle, returning from the pursuit, joined Wightman, who had faced about and taken possession of some enclosures and mud-walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day the duke, marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side; the number of the slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory. This battle was not so fatal to the Highlanders as the loss of Inverness, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer Lord Lovat, who, contrary to the principles he had hitherto professed, secured this important post for the government; by which means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the Earl of Sutherland had raised a considerable body of vassals. The Marquis of Huntley and the Earl of Seaforth were obliged to quit the rebel army in order to defend their own territories; and in a little time submitted to King George: a good number of the Frazers declared with their chief against the pretender: the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, to cover his own country; and the clans, seeing no likelihood of another action, began to disperse, according to custom.

The government was now in a condition to send strong reinforcements to Scotland. Six thousand men that were claimed of the States-General, by virtue of the treaty, landed in England, and began their march for Edinburgh; General Cadogan set out for the same place, together with Brigadier Petit, and six other

The pre-  
tender ar-  
rives in  
Scotland.

engineers; and a train of artillery was shipped at the Tower for that country, the Duke of Argyle resolving to drive the Earl of Mar out of Perth, to which town he had retired with the remains of his forces. The pretender having been amused with the hope of seeing the whole kingdom of England rise up as one man in his behalf, and the Duke of Ormond having made a fruitless voyage to the western coast, to try the disposition of the people, he was now convinced of the vanity of his expectation in that quarter; and, as he knew not what other course to take, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when his affairs in that kingdom were absolutely desperate. From Bretagne he posted through part of France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, hired for that purpose, arrived on the twenty-second day of December at Peterhead with six gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the Marquis of Tinmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick. He passed through Aberdeen incognito, to Fetterosse, where he was met by the Earls of Mar and Marischal, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. Here he was solemnly proclaimed: his declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and circulated through all the parts in that neighbourhood; and he received addresses from the episcopal clergy, and the laity of that communion, in the diocese of Aberdeen. On the fifth day of January, he made his public entry into Dundee; and on the seventh arrived at Scone, where he seemed determined to stay until the ceremony of his coronation should be performed. From thence he made an excursion to Perth, where he reviewed his forces. Then he formed a regular council; and published six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving, on account of his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in churches; a third establishing the currency of foreign coins; a fourth summoning the meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth ordering all sensible men to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the twenty-third day of January for his coronation. He made a pathetic speech in a grand council, at which all the chiefs of his party assisted. They determined, however, to abandon the enterprise, as the king's army was reinforced by the Dutch auxiliaries, and they themselves were not only reduced to a small number, but likewise destitute of money, arms, ammunition, forage, and

provision; for the Duke of Argyle had taken possession of Burnt-island, and transported a detachment to Fife, so as to cut off Mar's communication with that fertile country.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, and a prodigious fall of snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, the duke, on the twenty-ninth of January, began his march to Dumblaine, and next day reached Tullibardine, where he received intelligence that the pretender and his forces had, on the preceding day, retired towards Dundee. He forthwith took possession of Perth; and then began his march to Aberbrothick in pursuit of the enemy. The Chevalier de St. George, being thus hotly pursued, was prevailed upon to embark on board a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose. He was accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melford, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-General Bulkley, and other persons of distinction, to the number of seventeen. In order to avoid the English cruisers, they stretched over to Norway, and coasting along the German and Dutch shores, arrived in five days at Graveline. General Gordon, whom the pretender had left commander in chief of the forces, assisted by the Earl Marischal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, and take on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. They then continued their march through Strathspey and Strathdown, to the hills of Badernoch, where the common people were quietly dismissed. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the Duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake their rear-guard, which consisted of a thousand horse, commanded by the Earl Marischal. Such was the issue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families: a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent measures of a whig ministry kindled such a flame of discontent in the nation as encouraged the partisans of the pretender to hazard a revolt.

He retires  
again to  
France.

The Parliament of Ireland, which met at Dublin on the twelfth day of November, seemed even more zealous, if possible, than that of England for the present administration. They passed bills for recognising the king's title; for the security of his person and government; for setting a price on the pretender's head;

Proceedings  
of the Irish  
Parliament.

and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the supplies without opposition. All those who had addressed the late queen in favour of Sir Constantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, were now brought upon their knees and censured as guilty of a breach of privilege. They desired the lords-justices would issue a proclamation against the popish inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who, presuming upon the capitulation signed by King William, claimed an exemption from the penalties imposed upon other papists. They engaged in an association against the pretender, and all his abettors. They voted the Earl of Anglesey an enemy to the king and kingdom, because he advised the queen to break the army, and prorogue the late Parliament; and they addressed the king to remove him from his council and service. The lords-justices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Westmeath, the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of disaffection to the government. Then they adjourned the two Houses.

The king in his speech to the English Parliament, which met on the ninth of January, told them he had reason to believe the pretender was landed in Scotland: he congratulated them on the success of his arms in suppressing the rebellion; on the conclusion of the barrier treaty between the emperor and the States-General, under his guarantee; on a convention with Spain that would deliver the trade of England to that kingdom from the new impositions and hardships to which it was subjected in consequence of the late treaties. He likewise gave them to understand, that a treaty for renewing all former alliances between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General was almost concluded; and he assured the Commons he would freely give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion. The Commons, in their address of thanks, declared that they would prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the authors of those destructive counsels which had drawn down such miseries upon the nation. Their resolutions were speedy, and exactly conformable to this declaration. They expelled Mr. Forster from the House. They forthwith impeached the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; Lords

The rebel  
lords are  
impeached  
and plead  
guilty.



Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. These noblemen, being brought to the bar of the House of Lords, heard the articles of impeachment read on the tenth day of January, and were ordered to put in their answers on the sixteenth. The impeachments being lodged, the Lower House ordered a bill to be brought in for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act: then they prepared another to attain, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and Lord John Drummond. On the twenty-first day of January, the king gave the royal assent to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act. He told the Parliament that the pretender was actually in Scotland, heading the rebellion, and assuming the style and title of king of these realms: he demanded of the Commons such supplies as might discourage any foreign power from assisting the rebels. On Thursday, the nineteenth day of January, all the impeached lords pleaded guilty to the articles exhibited against them, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for longer time, on various pretences. The rest received sentence of death on the ninth day of February, in the court erected in Westminster-hall, where the Lord Chancellor Cowper presided as lord high-steward on that occasion. The Countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairn threw themselves at the king's feet, as he passed through the apartments of the palace, and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but their tears and entreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

The Countess of Derwentwater, with her sister, accompanied by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first distinction, was introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's into the king's bedchamber, where she invoked his majesty's clemency for her unfortunate consort. She afterwards repaired to the lobby of the House of Peers, attended by the ladies of the other condemned lords, and above twenty others of the same quality, and begged the intercession of the House; but no regard was paid to their petition. Next day they petitioned both Houses of Parliament. The Commons rejected their suit. In the Upper House, the Duke of Richmond delivered a

The Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmuir are beheaded.

petition from the Earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, at the same time declaring that he himself should oppose his solicitation. The Earl of Derby expressed some compassion for the numerous family of Lord Nairn. Petitions from the rest were presented by other lords, moved by pity and humanity. Lord Townshend and others vehemently opposed their being read. The Earl of Nottingham thought this indulgence might be granted: the House assented to his opinion, and agreed to an address, praying his majesty would reprieve such of the condemned lords as should seem to deserve his mercy. To this petition the king answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people. The Earl of Nottingham, president of the council, his brother the Earl of Aylesbury, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, his son Lord Finch, one of the lords of the treasury, his kinsman Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel-office, were altogether dismissed from his majesty's service. Orders were despatched for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the Viscount of Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited to the seventh day of March. Nithsdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his own mother. On the twenty-fourth day of February, Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on Tower-hill. The former was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country in which he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estate; the poor, the widow, and the orphan, rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. He was a devout member of the English church; but the other died in the faith of Rome: both adhered to their political principles. On the fifteenth day of March, Wintoun was brought to trial, and being convicted, received sentence of death.

Annals.  
Bolingbr.  
Patten.  
Debates in  
Parliament.  
Tindal.  
State  
Trials.

When the king passed the land-tax bill, which was ushered in with a very extraordinary preamble, he informed both Houses of the pretender's flight from Scotland. In the beginning of April, a commission for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Mackintosh,

1716.  
Trials of  
rebels.

and twenty of their confederates. Forster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety: the rest pleaded not guilty, and were indulged with time to prepare for their trials. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high treason. Two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester: about a thousand prisoners submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for transportation. Pitts, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Forster's escape, was tried for his life at the Old Bailey, and acquitted. Notwithstanding this prosecution, which ought to have redoubled the vigilance of the jailors, Brigadier Mackintosh, and several other prisoners, broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded with the trials of those that remained; and a great number were found guilty: four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: and among these was one William Paul, a clergyman, who, in his last speech, professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of England, but not of the revolution schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned the king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical rights, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid, lay-deprivations authorized by the Prince of Orange.

Though the rebellion was extinguished, the flame of national dissatisfaction still continued to rage; the severities exercised against the rebels increased the general discontent: for now the danger was blown over, their humane passions began to prevail. The courage and fortitude with which the condemned persons encountered the pains of death in its most dreadful form, prepossessed many spectators in favour of the cause by which those unhappy victims were animated. In a word, persecution as usual extended the heresy. The ministry, perceiving this universal dissatisfaction, and dreading the revolution of a new Parliament, which might wrest the power from their faction, and retort upon them the violence of their own measures, formed a resolution equally odious and effectual to establish their administration. This was no other than a scheme to repeal the triennial act, and by a new law to extend the term of Parliaments to seven years. On the tenth day of April, the Duke of Devonshire represented, in the House of Lords, that triennial elections served to keep

Act for septennial Parliaments.

up party divisions; to raise and foment feuds in private families; to produce ruinous expenses, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes: that it became the wisdom of such an august assembly to apply proper remedies to an evil that might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the nation, as the spirit of rebellion still remained unconquered. He, therefore, proposed a bill for enlarging the continuance of Parliaments. He was seconded by the Earls of Dorset and Rockingham, the Duke of Argyle, Lord Townshend, and the other chiefs of that party. The motion was opposed by the Earls of Nottingham, Abingdon, and Paulet. They observed, that frequent Parliaments were required by the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, ascertained in the practice of many ages: that the members of the Lower House were chosen by the body of the nation, for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they could be no longer representatives of the people, who, by the Parliament's protracting its own authority, would be deprived of the only remedy which they have against those who, through ignorance or corruption, betrayed the trust reposed in them: that the reasons in favour of such a bill were weak and frivolous: that, with respect to foreign alliances, no prince or state could reasonably depend upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who should be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor would it be prudent in them to wish for a change in that constitution under which Europe had of late been so powerfully supported: on the contrary, they might be deterred from entering into any engagements with Great Britain, when informed by the preamble of the bill, that the popish faction was so dangerous as to threaten destruction to the government; they would apprehend that the administration was so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; that the gentlemen of Britain were not to be trusted; and that the good affections of the people were restrained within the limits of the House of Commons. They affirmed that this bill, far from preventing the expense of elections, would rather increase it, and encourage every species of corruption; for the value of a seat would always be in proportion to the duration of a Parliament; and the purchase would rise accordingly: that a long Parliament would yield a greater temptation, as well as a better opportunity, to a

vicious ministry, to corrupt the members, than they could possibly have when the Parliaments were short and frequent: that the same reasons urged for passing the bill to continue this Parliament for seven years would be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the ministry, might be made much stronger before the end of that term, for continuing, and even perpetuating, their legislative power, to the absolute subversion of the third estate of the realm. These arguments served only to form a decent debate, after which the bill for septennial Parliaments passed by a great majority; though twenty peers entered a protest. It met with the same fate in the Lower House, where many strong objections were stated to no purpose. They were represented as the effects of party spleen; and, indeed, this was the great spring of action on both sides. The question for the bill was carried in the affirmative; and in a little time it received the royal sanction.

The rebellion being utterly quelled, and all the suspected persons of consequence detained in safe custody, the king resolved to visit his German dominions, where he foresaw a storm gathering from the quarter of Sweden. Charles XII. was extremely exasperated against the Elector of Hanover, for having entered into the confederacy against him in his absence, particularly for his having purchased the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which constituted part of his dominions; and he breathed nothing but revenge against the King of Great Britain. It was with a view to avert this danger, or prepare against it, that the king now determined upon a voyage to the continent. But as he was restricted from leaving his British dominion, by the act for the further limitation of the crown, this clause was repealed in a new bill that passed through both Houses without the least difficulty. On the twenty-sixth day of June, the king closed the session with a speech upon the usual topics, in which, however, he observed, that the numerous instances of mercy he had shown served only to encourage the faction of the pretender, whose partisans acted with such insolence and folly, as if they intended to convince the world that they were not to be reclaimed by gentle methods. He intimated his purpose of visiting his dominions in Germany; and gave them to understand, that he had constituted his beloved son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom in his absence. About this period, General Macartney,

The Duke  
of Argyle  
disgraced.

who had returned to England at the accession of King George, presented himself to trial for the murder of the Duke of Hamilton. The deposition of Colonel Hamilton was contradicted by two park-keepers: the general was acquitted of the charge, restored to his rank in the army, and gratified with the command of a regiment. The king's brother, Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnabruck, was created Duke of York and Albany, and Earl of Ulster. The Duke of Argyle, and his brother the Earl of Ilay, to whom his majesty owed, in a great measure, his peaceable accession to the throne, as well as the extinction of the rebellion in Scotland, were now dismissed from all their employments. General Carpenter succeeded the duke in the chief command of the forces in North Britain, and in the government of Port Mahon; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed lord register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Ilay.

On the seventh day of July, the king embarked at Gravesend, landed on the ninth in Holland, through which he passed incognito to Hanover, and from thence set out for Pymont. His aim was to secure his German dominions from the Swede, and Great Britain from the pretender. These two princes had already begun to form a design, in conjunction, of invading his kingdom. He knew the Duke of Orleans was resolved to ascend the throne of France, in case the young king, who was a sickly child, should die without male issue. The regent was not ignorant that Philip of Spain would powerfully contest that succession, notwithstanding his renunciation; and he was glad of an opportunity to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the maritime powers of England and Holland. The King of England sounded him on this subject, and found him eager to engage in such an association. The negotiation was carried on by General Cadogan for England, the Abbé du Bois for France, and the pensionary Heinsius for the States-General. The regent readily complied with all their demands. He engaged that the pretender should immediately depart from Avignon to the other side of the Alps, and never return to Lorraine or France on any pretence whatsoever: that no rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in that kingdom: and that the treaty of Utrecht, with respect to the demolition of Dunkirk, should be fully executed, to the satisfaction of his Britannic

Triple alliance between England, France, and Holland.

majesty. The treaty contained a mutual guarantee of all the places possessed by the contracting powers; of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as of that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France; and a defensive alliance, stipulating the proportion of ships and forces to be furnished to that power which should be disturbed at home or invaded from abroad. The English people murmured at this treaty. They said an unnecessary umbrage was given to Spain, with which the nation had great commercial connexions; and that on pretence of an invasion, a body of foreign troops might be introduced to enslave the kingdom.

His majesty was not so successful in his endeavours to appease the King of Sweden, who refused to listen to any overtures until Bremen and Verden should be restored. These the Elector of Hanover resolved to keep as a fair purchase; and he engaged in a confederacy with the enemies of Charles, for the maintenance of this acquisition. Meanwhile his rupture with Sweden was extremely prejudicial to the commerce of England, and had well nigh entailed upon the kingdom another invasion, much more formidable than that which had so lately miscarried. The ministers of Sweden resident at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain. A scheme was formed for the Swedish king's landing on this island with a considerable body of forces, where he should be joined by the malecontents of the united kingdom. Charles relished the enterprise, which flattered his ambition and revenge; nor was it disagreeable to the Czar of Muscovy, who resented the elector's offer of joining the Swede against the Russians, provided he would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden. King George, having received intimation of these intrigues, returned to England towards the end of January; and ordered a detachment of footguards to secure Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister, with all his papers. At the same time, Sir Jacob Bancks and Mr. Charles Caesar were apprehended. The other foreign ministers took the alarm, and remonstrated to the ministry upon this outrage committed against the law of nations. The two secretaries, Stanhope and Methuen, wrote circular letters to them, assuring them that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons that induced

Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister in London, arrested.

the king to take such an extraordinary step. They were generally satisfied with this intimation; but the Marquis de Monteleone, ambassador from Spain, expressed his concern, that no other way could be found to preserve the peace of the kingdom without arresting the person of a public minister, and seizing all his papers, which were the sacred repositories of his master's secrets; he observed, that in whatever manner these two facts might seem to be understood, they very sensibly wounded the law of nations. About the same time Baron Gortz, the Swedish residentiary in Holland, was seized with his papers at Arnheim, at the desire of King George, communicated to the states by Mr. Leathes, his minister at the Hague. The baron owned he had projected the invasion, a design that was justified by the conduct of King George, who had joined the princes in confederacy against the King of Sweden, without having received the least provocation; who had assisted the King of Denmark in subduing the duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchased them of the usurper; and who had, in the course of this very summer, sent a strong squadron of ships to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Russians against the Swedish fleet.

When the Parliament of Great Britain met on the twentieth day of February, the king informed them of the triple alliance he had concluded with France and Holland. He mentioned the projected invasion; told them he had given orders for laying before them copies of the letters which had passed between the Swedish ministers on that subject; and he demanded of the Commons such supplies as should be found necessary for the defence of the kingdom. By those papers it appeared that the scheme projected by Baron Gortz was very plausible, and even ripe for execution; which, however, was postponed until the army should be reduced, and the Dutch auxiliaries sent back to their own country. The letters being read in Parliament, both Houses presented addresses, in which they extolled the king's prudence in establishing such conventions with foreign potentates as might repair the gross defects, and prevent the pernicious consequences of the treaty of Utrecht, which they termed a treacherous and dishonourable peace; and they expressed their horror and indignation at the malice and ingratitude of those who had encouraged an invasion of their country. He likewise received an address of the same kind

*Account of  
the Oxford  
riot.*



from the convention ; another from the dissenting ministers ; a third from the university of Cambridge ; but Oxford was not so lavish of her compliments. At a meeting of the vice-chancellor and heads of that university, a motion was made for an address to the king, on the suppression of the late unnatural rebellion, his majesty's safe return, and the favour lately shown to the university, in omitting, at their request, the ceremony of burning in effigy the devil, the pope, the pretender, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession. Dr. Smallridge, Bishop of Bristol, observed, that the rebellion had been long suppressed ; that there would be no end of addresses, should one be presented every time his majesty returned from his German dominions ; that the late favour they had received was overbalanced by a whole regiment now quartered upon them ; and that there was no precedent for addressing a king upon his return from his German dominions. The university thought they had reason to complain of the little regard paid to their remonstrances, touching a riot raised in that city by the soldiers there quartered, on pretence that the anniversary of the prince's birthday had not been celebrated with the usual rejoicings. Affidavits had been sent up to the council, which seemed to favour the officers of the regiment. When the House of Lords deliberated upon the mutiny bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts, complaint was made of their licentious behaviour at Oxford, and a motion was made, that they should inquire into the riot. The Lords presented an address to the king, desiring that the papers relating to that affair might be laid before the House. These, being perused, were found to be recriminations between the Oxonians and the officers of the regiment. A warm debate ensued, during which the Earl of Abingdon offered a petition from the vice-chancellor of the university, the mayor and magistrates of Oxford, praying to be heard. One of the court members observing that it would be irregular to receive a petition while the House was in a grand committee, a motion was made, that the chairman should leave the chair ; but this being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and the majority agreed to the following resolutions : that the heads of the university, and mayor of the city, neglected to make public rejoicings on the prince's birthday ; that the officers having met to celebrate that day, the house in which

they had assembled was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; that this assault was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued; that the conduct of the major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part; that the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at Oxford were founded, while that matter was under the examination of the lords of the committee of the council, before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his royal highness, and tending to sedition. An inquiry of this nature, so managed, did not much redound to the honour of such an august assembly.

The Commons passed a bill, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, a branch of trade which was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. They voted ten thousand seamen for the ensuing year; granted about a million for the maintenance of guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and passed the bill relating to mutiny and desertion. The House likewise voted four-and-twenty thousand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munster and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as might be, during the rebellion, drawn from the garrisons of the States-General to the assistance of England. This vote, however, was not carried without a violent debate. The demand was inveighed against as an imposition, seeing no troops had ever served. A motion was made for an address, desiring that the instructions of those who concluded the treaties might be laid before the House; but this was overruled by the majority.<sup>4</sup> The supplies were raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a malt-tax. What the Commons had given was not thought sufficient for the expenses of the year; therefore Mr. Secretary Stanhope brought a message from his majesty, demanding an extraordinary supply, that he might be the better enabled to secure his kingdoms against the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a supply should

<sup>4</sup> This year was rendered famous by a complete victory which Prince Eugene obtained over the Turks at Peterwaradin upon the Danube. The battle was fought on the fifth day of August. The imperial army did not exceed sixty thousand men: that of the infidels amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand, commanded by the grand vizir, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. The infidels were totally defeated, with the loss of all their tents, artillery, and baggage; so that the victors obtained an immense booty.

be granted to his majesty for this purpose. Mr. Shippen observed, that it was a great misfortune that the king was as little acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings as with the language of the country; that the message was unparliamentary and unprecedented; and, in his opinion, penned by some foreign minister: he said he had been often told that his majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the nation; a truth which appeared in the flourishing condition of trade; but that the supply demanded seemed to be inconsistent with the glorious advantages which his majesty had obtained for the people. He was seconded by Mr. Hungerford, who declared that for his part he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less that they should be purchased with money. He expressed his surprise that a nation so lately the terror of France and Spain should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the King of Sweden. The motion was supported by Mr. Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and others; but some of the whigs spoke against it; and Mr. Robert Walpole was silent. The speaker, and Mr. Smith, one of the tellers of the exchequer, opposed this unparliamentary way of demanding the supply: the former proposed that part of the army should be disbanded, and the money applied towards the making good such new engagements as were deemed necessary. After several successive debates, the resolution for a supply was carried by a majority of four voices.

The ministry was now divided within itself. Lord Townshend had been removed from the office of secretary of state by the intrigues of the Earl of Sunderland; and he was now likewise dismissed from the place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Robert Walpole resigned his posts of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: his example was followed by Mr. Pulteney, secretary at war, and Mr. Methuen, secretary of state. When the affair of the supply was resumed in the House of Commons, Mr. Stanhope made a motion for granting two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. Mr. Pulteney observed, that having resigned his place, he might now act with the freedom becoming an Englishman: he declared against the manner of granting the supply, as unparliamentary and unprecedented. He said he could not persuade himself that any Englishman advised his majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not the resolution of a

British Parliament would make a German ministry tremble. Mr. Stanhope having harangued the House in vindication of the ministry, Mr. Smith answered every article of his speech: he affirmed, that if an estimate of the conduct of the ministry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made from a comparison of their conduct at home, they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. "Was it not a mistake (said he) not to preserve the peace at home, after the king had ascended the throne with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking out of the rebellion, not to issue a proclamation, to offer pardon to such as should return home peaceably, according to the custom on former occasions of the same nature? Was it not a mistake, after the suppression of the rebellion and the trial and execution of the principal authors of it, to keep up animosities and drive people to despair, by not passing an act of indemnity; by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious confinement; and by granting pardons to some, without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake not to trust to a vote of Parliament for making good such engagements as his majesty should think proper to enter into; and instead of that, to insist on the granting this supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake to take this opportunity to create divisions, and render some of the king's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act of occasional conformity?" A great number of members had agreed to this measure in private, though at this period it was not brought into the House of Commons. After a long debate the sum was granted. These were the first-fruits of Britain's being wedded to the interests of the continent. The Elector of Hanover quarrelled with the King of Sweden; and England was not only deprived of a necessary branch of commerce, but even obliged to support him in the prosecution of the war. The ministry now underwent a new revolution. The Earl of Sunderland and Mr. Addison were appointed secretaries of state: Mr. Stanhope became first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer.

On the sixth day of May, the king, going to the House of Peers, gave the Parliament to understand that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had sailed to the Baltic,

to observe the motions of the Swedes, was safely arrived in the Sound. He said he had given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thousand soldiers, as well as directions to prepare an act of indemnity. He desired they would take proper measures for reducing the public debts with a just regard to parliamentary credit; and that they would go through the public business with all possible despatch and unanimity. Some progress had already been made in deliberations upon the debt of the nation, which was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The first had been contracted with a redeemable interest; and these the public had a right to discharge: the others consisted of long and short annuities granted for a greater or less number of years, which could not be altered without the consent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole had projected a scheme for lessening the interest, and paying the capital of those debts, before he resigned his place in the exchequer. He proposed, in the House of Commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. His plan was approved; but when he resigned his places, the ministers made some small alterations in it, which furnished him with a pretence for opposing the execution of the scheme. In the course of the debate, some warm altercation passed between him and Mr. Stanhope, by which it appeared they had made a practice of selling places and reversions. Mr. Hungerford, standing up, said he was sorry to see two such great men running foul of one another; that, however, they ought to be looked upon as patriots and fathers of their country; and since they had by mischance discovered their nakedness, the other members ought, according to the custom of the East, to turn their backs upon them, that they might not be seen in such a shameful condition. Mr. Boscawen moved that the House would lay their commands upon them, that no further notice should be taken of what had passed. He was seconded by Mr. Methuen; the House approved of the motion; and the speaker took their word and honour that they should not prosecute their resentment. The money-corporations having agreed to provide cash for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal, the House came to certain resolutions, on which were founded the three bills that passed into laws, under the names of "the South-Sea act, the bank act,

The Commons pass the South-Sea act, the bank act, and the general fund act.

and the general fund act." The original stock of the South-Sea company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but the funds granted being sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent., the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received six hundred thousand pounds yearly, and eight thousand pounds a year for management. By this act they declared themselves willing to receive five hundred thousand pounds, and the eight thousand for management. It was enacted, that the company should continue a corporation until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne. By the bank act the governors and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds, seven shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, or the principal of one million seven hundred and seventy-five thousand twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen shillings, and five pence. They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per day. It was enacted, that the former allowances should be continued to Christmas, and then the bank should have for circulating the two millions five hundred and sixty-one thousand and twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of seventy-six thousand eight hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny a day for interest. By the same act the bank was required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions five hundred thousand pounds, towards discharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they should have five pounds per cent. for as much as they might advance, redeemable by Parliament. The general fund act recited the several acts of Parliament,

for establishing the four lotteries in the ninth and tenth years of the late queen, and stated the annual produce of the several funds, amounting in all to seven hundred twenty-four thousand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, six shillings, and tenpence one fifth. This was the general fund; the deficiency of which was to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by Parliament. For the regular payment of all such annuities as should be made payable by this act, it was enacted, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein should continue for ever, with the proviso, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual should be subject to redemption. This act contained a clause by which the sinking fund was established. The reduction of interest to five per cent. producing a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted, that all the monies arising from time to time, as well as for the surplus, by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-Sea company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, should be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debt as was incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceding year, in such manner as should be directed and appointed by any future act of Parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for no other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.

The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained almost two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. Some of the tory lords affirmed that the impeachment was destroyed and determined by the prorogation of Parliament, which superseded the whole proceedings; but the contrary was voted by a considerable majority. The thirteenth day of June was fixed for the trial; and the House of Commons made acquainted with this determination. The Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the earl's impeachment; and, in consequence of their report, sent a message to the Lords, demanding longer time to prepare for trial. Accordingly the day was prolonged to the twenty-fourth of June; and the Commons appointed the committee, with four hundred members, to be managers for making good the articles of impeachment. At the appointed time, the

*Trial of the  
Earl of  
Oxford.  
Act of in-  
demnity.*

Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where Lord Cowper presided as lord steward. The Commons were assembled as a committee of the whole House: the king, the rest of the royal family, and the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity: the Earl of Oxford was brought from the Tower: the articles of impeachment were read, with his answers, and the replication of the Commons. Sir Joseph Jekyll standing up to make good the first article, Lord Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a motion to make, and they adjourned to their own House. There he represented, that a great deal of time would be unnecessarily consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment: that if the Commons would make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter: whereas, to proceed in the method proposed by the Commons, would draw the trial on to a prodigious length. He therefore moved that the Commons might not be permitted to proceed, until judgment should be first given upon the articles of high treason. He was supported by the Earls of Anglesey and Nettingham, the Lord Trevor, and a considerable number of both parties; and though opposed by the Earl of Sunderland, the Lords Coningsby and Parker, the motion was carried in the affirmative. It produced a dispute between the two Houses. The Commons, at a conference, delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a peer, either for treason, or for high crimes and misdemeanours; or, should they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation. The House of Lords insisted on their former resolution; and in another conference delivered a paper, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every court of justice to order and direct such methods of proceeding as it should think fit to be observed in all causes that fall under its cognizance. The Commons demanded a free conference, which was refused. The dispute grew more and more warm. The Lords sent a message to the Lower House, importing, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl of Oxford. The Commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third day of July. The Lords, repairing to Westminster-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accusers to appear. Having waited a quarter of an hour, they adjourned to their own House,



where, after some debate, the earl was acquitted upon a division; then returning to the hall, they voted that he should be set at liberty. Oxford owed his safety to the dissensions among the ministers, and to the late change in the administration. In consequence of this, he was delivered from the persecution of Walpole; and numbered among his friends the Dukes of Devonshire and Argyle, the Earls of Nottingham and Illy, and Lord Townshend. The Commons, in order to express their sense of his demerit, presented an address to the king, desiring he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace. The king promised to comply with their request; and in the mean time forbade the earl to appear at court. On the fifteenth day of July the Earl of Sunderland delivered in the House of Peers the act of grace, which passed through both Houses with great expedition. From this indulgence were excepted the Earl of Oxford, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, Mr. Arthur Moore, Crisp, Nodes, Obryan, Redmayne the printer, and Thompson; as also the assassins in Newgate, and the clan of Maegregor in Scotland. By virtue of this act, the Earl of Carnwath, the Lords Widdrington and Nairn, were immediately discharged, together with all the gentlemen under sentence of death in Newgate, and those that were confined on account of the rebellion in the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and other prisons of the kingdom. The act of grace being prepared for the royal assent, the king went to the House of Peers on the fifteenth day of July, and having given his sanction to all the bills that were ready, closed the session with a speech on the usual topics.

The proceedings in the Convocation turned chiefly upon two performances of Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor. One was entitled "A Preservative against the Principles and Practiees of the Nonjurors:" the other was a sermon preached before the king, under the title of "The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ." An answer to this discourse was published by Dr. Snape, master of Eton college, and the Convocation appointed a committee to examine the bishop's two performances. They drew up a representation, in which the Preservative and the sermon were censured, as tending to subvert all government and discipline in the church of Christ; to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion; to impugn and impeach the royal supremaey in causes

Proceedings  
in the Con-  
vocation  
with regard  
to Dr.  
Hoadley,  
Bishop of  
Bangor.

ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions. The government thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings by a prorogation: which, however, inflamed the controversy. A great number of pens were drawn against the bishop; but his chief antagonists were Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock, whom the king removed from the office of his chaplains; and the Convocation has not been permitted to sit and do business since that period.



END OF VOL. I.













